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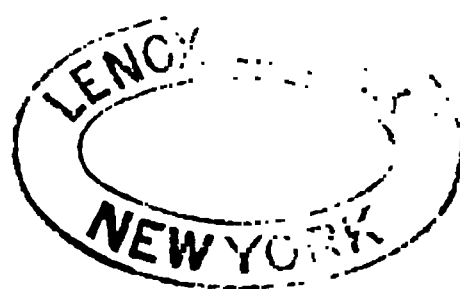
INTENDED AS A CONTINUATION OF THE WORK OF
THE REV. JOSEPH MILNER, M. A. AND THE VERY REV. ISAAC MI
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HULL, ETC.

VOLUME II. ✓

COMPRISING THE SEQUEL OF THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION, AND THE
EARLIER PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND.

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VILLAGE

PREFACE.

THE present volume is divided into two parts¹—the former relating the sequel of the Lutheran reformation, and the latter the commencement and progress of that of Switzerland, to the close of the year 1527.

In the former, it cannot but be gratifying to the reader, who has a taste for these studies, and who has long witnessed the zeal and firmness of the good Elector of Saxony as an independent prince, to contemplate his truly Christian conduct, and the support which his principles afforded him, when reduced to adversity. The lovely mind of Melancthon is here also exhibited, it is hoped, in a just light, and his character vindicated from many aspersions injuriously cast upon it. The examination of some of his works, particularly his *Common Places*, introduces discussions, and affords a view of the progress of an enlightened, devout, and humble mind, which may prove instructive, especially to the younger class of theological students.

The notice of the Council of Trent presents a curious history, uniting the mournful and the ludicrous in no common degree. Alas! to what authorities have professed Christians deferred, and to what guides have they implicitly yielded the direction of their faith and their consciences, when they have once surrendered "the oracles of God," or failed to seek the illumination of his Spirit to lead to the just understanding and use of them!

¹ They were, in fact, published separately.



It was much my wish to have at once brought down the history of the Swiss reformation to the death of Zwingle and Œcolampadius, at the close of the year 1531—concluding the volume with some more copious specimens of the correspondence of those two great men, and with a review of some of the principal works of the former of them; and I had prepared my materials accordingly: but it was found not practicable to comprise the whole within the prescribed limits: and, as the public does not appear to look favourably upon *parts* of volumes, my remaining manuscript must be reserved till the history of the Swiss church to the death of Calvin (A. D. 1564,) can be added to it.

How far the story of the reformation effected by Zwingle and his associates may be thought to approach, in interest, to that of the like revolution wrought by means of Luther, I presume not to determine. It must be remembered that the former here *succeeds* the latter, and by that means loses much of the charm of novelty. Many also of those details, which gave importance to a *first* narrative, would in this have been an unnecessary and unwarranted repetition. Other points of comparison likewise present themselves, in most of which the disadvantage seems to fall on the side of Switzerland. The hero of the German reformation occupied the stage, and fixed the public eye, for nearly thirty years; whereas Zwingle was removed at the end of half that period. In Switzerland, shut up within its own mountains, and consisting of a number of small independent republics, the reformers were not committed, nor their energies called forth, against any such formidable antagonists as their brethren in Germany had to encounter; and, however great the advantage of such a circumstance in other

and more important respects, in point of historic effect it must be acknowledged to be injurious. It has been thought, indeed, that, as the reformation in Switzerland was effected "more by open discussion, and less by political influence," its history must be the more satisfactory and edifying of the two to the Christian student. But I can only very partially admit the fact here assumed. The governments of the several Swiss states appear to have borne to the full as great a share in the religious changes made, as any of the princes did in Germany. If it was to the popular voice, sometimes even contrary to the wishes of the rulers, that the reformation was conceded in the former country; there were not wanting instances of the same kind in the latter.¹ Moreover the Swiss sovereignties, being vested in collective bodies, were liable to the influence of still more mixed and varied motives than individual princes were; while we lose among them the high interest and important instruction, which such examples of personal wisdom, constancy, and piety, as the three successive electors of Saxony, to name no other individuals, afford us. Numerous as were the senators and officers of state who promoted the reformation of the Swiss Cantons, scarcely any eminent layman, with the exception of Joachim Vadian, of S. Gallen, leaves a distinct trace upon the memory. Here also, if public discussions, or "disputations," produced more effect, books seem to have produced less: and to posterity, at least, this is a disadvantage. Once more: though Zwingli was a noble character, not inferior, perhaps, to his great fellow-reformer in eloquence and force of intellect, and probably in learning,

¹ See e. g. vol. i. p. 257.

and certainly in calmness of mind and temperateness of style, his superior; and though he taught, and lived under the influence of the same gospel; yet he had less warmth of heart, and less depth of Christian experience: and on both these accounts he must fail to interest and edify us in an equal degree. Yet we shall find much in him, as well as in his mild, holy, and learned fellow-labourer, Œcolampadius, to excite our admiration, and call forth our praise to God: and certainly the whole history of this branch of the *blessed* reformation deserves to be detailed much more particularly, than it has hitherto been to the people of this country. I hope therefore to have my attempt in this part of my work regarded with a favourable eye, and to be encouraged to proceed with accounts which, I trust, may possess even increasing importance.

All that remains for this prefatory address is to furnish, as in the former volume, some notices of the authors from whom my materials have been derived.

Sleidan, Scultetus, Camerarius, (the friend and biographer of Melancthon,) Father Paul, and Melchior Adam are already sufficiently known to my readers, or will become so as we have occasion to make further use of them. Of Vargas, who must be numbered among the historians of the council of Trent, such an account as is necessary is given, at pp. 257, 314, 315 of the volume itself; as well as some vindication of Father Paul's History, and some notice of his translator and commentator, Dr. Courayer, at pp. 312—314. The Epistles and Consilia of Melancthon, of which much use is here made, have been before described.¹ The edition of Melancthon's Works

¹ Pref. to vol. i. p. xvii.

which I use, is that printed at Wittemberg, 1580. The work of David Chytræus on Saxon affairs ("Saxonia") is a folio volume, printed in 1599. The author was a learned Lutheran divine, who published also a History of the Confession of Augsburg, and other works. He was born in the year 1530, and studied at Tübingen, and then under Melancthon at Wittemberg; though he appears afterwards to have attached himself to a different party than that of the mild reformer. He held a professorship at Rostock; and died in the year 1600.

Of Thuanus, I regretted that I had not a sufficient apology for giving an account in my former preface: that apology is now furnished, in the further use made of his great work in this volume; and I shall avail myself of it, as I have been much interested with his personal history, and believe that in briefly sketching it I am directing the attention of my readers to a member of the true *church of Christ*, though he lived and died in communion with Rome.—James Augustus Thuanus, or de Thou, was a president of the parliament of Paris—as his father had been before him. He was born in 1553, and died in 1617. He was employed in public affairs during the reigns of Henry II, Francis II, Charles IX, Henry III, and Henry IV, of France: but he is immortalized by the History of his own Time, from 1546 to 1607, which he composed in one hundred and thirty-eight books, in an elegant and easy Latin style. This great man was in his childhood extremely weakly, so that the hope of preserving his life was abandoned: and his crib was removed from his father's antechamber that he might not die there; and a female relation, who anxiously watched over him, was desired not to risk her own health by tending

a hopeless charge. Hence of necessity the regular course of his education was interrupted, and he was left in a great degree to pursue his own plans : yet how distinguished his attainments were may be in some degree judged from what has been already recorded. His house was the resort of men of learning and genius, with whom he passed his time in the most agreeable and improving manner—each pursuing his own studies, and all communicating the result of their respective inquiries for the common information. He collected one of the finest private libraries in Europe ; which he anxiously, but in vain, endeavoured to have kept together for the benefit of posterity. It is remarkable, that from twenty years of age he formed the design of writing the history of his own times, as a main work of his life ; and from that period he made regular collections for the purpose.—He was distinguished for simplicity and integrity. Though he continued to the last a Roman catholic, yet he has treated the protestants, and the proceedings of the French government against them, (including the great massacre and the civil wars,) in such a manner as caused him to be styled at Rome a heretic, and his History to be placed in the list of prohibited books. The fault of his great work is its being so minute, and consequently so prolix, that it can scarcely be expected to find readers except among those who consult it in furtherance of works of their own. Incomparably the best edition of it was printed in England, under the patronage of Dr. Mead and the editorial care of our historian Carte ; and it extends to seven folio volumes !¹—His Preface, or Dedication of his History to Henry IV, is one

¹ Printed for Buckley, London, 1733.

of the three most admired compositions of that kind—the other two being Calvin's dedication of his Institutions to Francis I, and Casaubon's of his edition of Polybius, likewise to Henry IV. The design of Thuanus's Preface is to recommend toleration, or religious liberty, as the only remedy for the evils which had so long afflicted Christendom, and France in particular : and this theme he pursues in a strain that I have not found in any other writer of that period. He says, " Experience has taught us, that fire and sword, exile and proscription, rather irritate than heal the distemper that has its seat in the mind. These only affect the body ; but judicious and edifying doctrine, gently instilled, descends into the heart." " Religion is not subject to command, but is infused into well-prepared minds by a conviction of the truth, with the concurrence of divine grace. Tortures have no influence over her : in fact, they rather tend to make men obstinate, than to subdue or persuade them. . . . Confiding in the support of God's grace, the religious man is content to suffer ; and the ills, to which mortality is liable, he takes to himself without complaint. . . . Let the executioner stand before him ; let him prepare tortures, whet the knife, and kindle the pile ; he will still persevere : and his mind will dwell, not upon what he is to *endure*, but upon the part which it behoves him to *act*. His happiness is within his own bosom, and whatever assails him outwardly is trivial, and only grazes the surface of the body. . . . Consider the conduct of one of those who perished by torture for their religious opinions. When bound to the stake, he began with bended knees to sing a hymn, regardless of the smoke and flames : and, when the executioner would have set fire to the pile behind him, ' Come

hither,' said he, 'and kindle it before my face: if I could have felt dread, I should have avoided *coming* to this place.' 'Tortures therefore by no means repress the ardor of innovators in religion: but their minds are rather hardened by them, to suffer and attempt more. . . . France has now witnessed this visitation for forty years, and the Netherlands nearly as long. . . . Mild persuasion and amicable conference may still conciliate those, whom force cannot subdue."

Thuanus thus writes concerning himself, in the third person, in a memoir which he has left of his life: "Besides the daily prayers, which every Christian ought to offer at his rising, he has told me that he made one applicable to his work, and never sat down to composition without first begging God to enlighten him with a knowledge of the truth, and enable him to follow its dictates without flattery or detraction."—How does such a contrast reproach the irreligion of our Humes and our Gibbons, not to say also the coldness of our clerical historian Robertson!—His description of the style of writing which he had cultivated is admirable. "Lastly, I have aimed to acquire a plain and simple style, the image of a mind averse from vain and ostentatious ornament, equally free from asperity and adulation." "I was induced," he says, "to begin to write in camps, in the midst of sieges, and the noise of arms: and my work has been continued and completed in Your Majesty's court, amongst the oppressive labours of the law, foreign journies, and other avocations."

The exordium of his will is a beautiful specimen of those avowals of their faith and piety towards God, as well as affection towards their families, which our forefathers frequently introduced in such a connexion; and in which it is perhaps no proof of our improved taste, any more than of our

increased virtue, that we have so entirely ceased to imitate them. It is as follows : “ In the name of the sacred and undivided Trinity. Since it has pleased God that my beloved wife, Gaspara de la Chastre, who I always wished and hoped might survive me, has, contrary to the order of nature, departed before me, I, James Augustus de Thou, the chief and most miserable of sinners, am admonished by her lamented death to think seriously of my own, and to make this declaration of my last will and testament.—First of all, I render all possible thanks to Almighty God, that he caused me to be born of faithful parents, regenerated me in his church by the sacred laver, made me partaker of his sacraments, and impressed on my mind a living, and not a dead faith, having conjoined with it the hope of eternal life ; which consists in this, that we believe in God, and in Him whom he hath sent, even his beloved Son, the eternal Word, begotten before all ages, Jesus Christ, who was conceived, &c. &c. In this faith I profess that I live ; and with the most earnest prayers and tears I plead with God that I may persevere in it, constantly and without wavering, to my last breath : and I implore that, of his unbounded mercy, he would purge me, who was conceived and born in sin, from the pollutions of human infirmity ; and, unworthy as I am, make me worthy to be his habitation, and apply to me the merit of the passion of his most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ, for the expiation of my sins ; that, when the last hour of my life, not unprepared for, shall arrive, I may be carried by his angels to Abraham’s bosom, there with his holy and elect people to enjoy eternal felicity.—This premised, I nominate and appoint for guardians of my children—borne to me by my loving wife, whose loss I must incessantly deplore,

except as my grief is relieved by the hope of the resurrection—Henry de la Chastre, &c. &c.—Such was the illustrious historian Thuanus.¹

In the history of the Swiss reformation, besides the Works of Zwingli, (four volumes folio, Zurich, 1581,) and the scarce volume, “D. D. Joannis Œcolampadii et Huldrici Zwinglii Epistolarum libri quatuor, Basileæ, 1536,” folio; I have chiefly followed Ruchat and Gerdes; consulting also the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of J. H. Hottinger, and the biographical accounts of Zwingli by Oswald Myconius, his contemporary and friend, and the modern writer J. G. Hess.

Of “Abraham Ruchat, M. D. S. E.,” I am able to give little further account, than that he was a clergyman, professor of the belles lettres in the university of Lausanne; and that his “*Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*” was printed at Geneva, 1727-8, in six volumes, 12mo. It is a work highly esteemed on the continent, and is much referred to. It appears to have been compiled with great care from the best authorities, both printed and manuscript—of which the author gives an account in his preface, pp. xxi—xxviii. It is written upon good principles, and, as will appear from some passages quoted, with a becoming spirit of piety. I shall here add an extract from the preface, both for the sentiments which it contains, and to illustrate the principles and temper of the author. “I have endeavoured to write with all possible impartiality. But by impartiality I do not understand an indifference to religion: nor do I think that this virtue consists

¹ My notice of him is drawn from his Life by the Rev. John Collinson, 8vo, London, 1807: which again is derived chiefly from the collections respecting him, annexed to the above-mentioned edition of his history.

in writing with such coldness, as leaves the reader at a loss to divine what the religion of the historian is. I think that an honest man ought never to dissemble his religion, or to be backward to speak according to its principles; if only he does it with temper. For example, when the ancient historians of the church spoke of the propagation of the gospel throughout the world, I doubt not that the Pagans esteemed them partial: but where is the Christian who thinks them blameable on that ground? So, for my own part, I am a reformed Christian, and a minister of the evangelical profession: I am of this religion not only through the privilege of my birth, but from knowing the grounds of it, and without a blind obstinacy. I regard the Romish religion as an idolatrous one, or rather (with many learned moderns,) as a confused mass of vain superstitions—at once puerile and dangerous; and as a faction, which supports itself only by ignorance and self-interest, by violence and fraud. The reformation, on the contrary, I regard as the most precious boon which God has ever granted to my country since the first introduction of Christianity into it. I can speak of these subjects in no other tone or language than this. If this is called partiality, I cannot help it. I believe that I ought not either to think otherwise, or to disguise my sentiments. —But, under the indulgence of the critics, I am of opinion, that genuine historic impartiality consists in the observance of the two following rules: 1. To report facts with entire fidelity, without suppressing or dissembling any thing through favour for the party expressed, and without overcharging, adding, or altering any thing to prejudice the opposite party: for it is frequently, and indeed generally, happens that the single circumstance of more or less, some apparently

trifling addition or subduction in the narrative, “alters the whole character of an action.—The second rule is, to speak of opponents with moderation: and, with respect to them, to abstain from all bitterness, and from every injurious and offensive expression.—Whenever a Roman-catholic historian observes these two rules, I regard him as sincere and impartial: and such is the character which the illustrious president de Thou has gained for himself, by observing them in his noble history This is what I flatter myself I have done in the following work. I can perfectly well distinguish between the persons of Roman-catholics and their religion, and render to honourable men, such as there are among them, the justice which is their due. I can also distinguish between protestants and the religion *they* profess; report their faults with fidelity, and blame them without ceremony when I think they deserve it. But I feel myself at liberty also to defend them, though with calmness, when they appear to me to be unjustly censured. This is what I consider as the second rule.—With respect to the first, my readers may rest assured that I religiously observe what the truth of history demands. Truth is the very soul of historic writing. Without it, it is not a history, but a romance. To write a romance and give it the name of a history is the proceeding of a dishonest man—especially when it is done with a malicious design: it is a criminal tissue of lying, of which an account must be rendered to the great Judge of the world. Persuaded of this truth, I have always written as one that must another day be answerable for whatever has passed his pen.”—These are the sentiments of good sense, of genuine protestantism, and of true Christianity; and it is deeply to be lamented, that, in this “enlightened

materials for a history, than is at the pains to compose one.

John James Hottinger, the son, was, like his father, a professor at Zurich, born 1652, died 1735. His Ecclesiastical History of Switzerland, in the German language, ("Helvetische Kirchen-Geschichten,") three volumes 4to, Zurich, 1698—1707, appears to be a very valuable work. The last volume extends from the year 1515 to 1700, and, of course, details the history of the Swiss reformation. But this work I have never been able to procure—a disadvantage to which I have perhaps more patiently submitted, from the consideration that I should have needed the assistance of an interpreter to make me acquainted with its contents; and under which I have been consoled by the hope, that, from the closeness with which Ruchat appears to follow this author, I have in his volumes every thing most valuable to be found in the other. I shall here transcribe Ruchat's observation on J. J. Hottinger's History. "This work must have cost the illustrious author an infinity of research; and I think it well deserves to be translated into some language more generally understood. To the third volume my references are perpetual; and I acknowledge that I have drawn more from it than from all other books taken together."

With Myconius the reader will become acquainted as we proceed. His brief biography of Zwingli is prefixed to the Letters of Oecolampadius and Zwingli, already mentioned. The modern Life of Zwingli by J. G. Hess was written in French, during the rule of Bonaparte. My copy is an English translation by Miss Lucy Aikin, London, 1812. It is a sensible and elegant little work, and appears, in the main, to be

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CHAPTER X.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SMALKALDIC WAR TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERIM.

It belongs not to this work to detail the events of the Smalkaldic war. The reader must be referred for them to those authors who have written the secular history of the times.¹ A few of the leading features of these transactions are all that must here be noticed.

A. D.
1546.

Smalkaldic
War.

It will easily be conceived how melancholy an impression would be made upon all peaceable and pious minds by the last recorded event of the preceding volume, when the diet of Ratisbon broke up, and both parties openly prepared for war.² It is interesting to be allowed to contemplate that impression, softened and alleviated by a devout resignation, as it is exhibited in the following letter of Melancthon to his friend Camerarius, dated only four days after.

July 24.

“ I thank you for repeatedly endeavouring to abate my sadness by your letters ; particularly because I see, that, in doing this, you endeavour to rise above your own distress, by means of the consolations which God has provided for us. I must confess, that, under our common calamity, the thought of your

Letter of
Melancthon.
July 28.

¹ Robertson, books viii and ix. vol. iii. 325—369, 386—427.

² Vol. i. 427.

CHAP:
X.

affliction often increases my own : but, entreat you, continue to support yourself with these consolations. Soothe your mind also in the society of your excellent wife and your sweet children.—Ah, but you will say, when look upon them it does but aggravate my anxiety.—True, it must do so sometimes. Yet consider, that God makes the families of his servants the objects of his care, even amid the ruin of empires.—The present is not the first commencement of my painful feelings, or of my conviction that we should have to suffer oppression. Long since, as you well know, have been deeply affected by observing, not only the fury of our enemies, but the vices and sins of our own people.¹ Though therefore my feelings are more acute in this crisis of the calamity, yet, as in the case of diseases of long continuance, I have become in some degree prepared for it : and, while I revolve with myself all that is urged concerning the cause of the war, the characters and views of the leaders, the probable conduct of the military enterprises, their issue, and what may be the event of the whole, I rest in the sentence of Gamaliel, *If this counsel, or this work be of men, it will come to naught ; but, if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it :* and with earnest sighs and prayers I seek a salutary issue for the church of God.—With my own private danger I am not much affected. Should I lose my life, and thus afford some little triumph to them that rejoice in iniquity, (whose number

¹ Compare Epist. iv. 648, (written in 1544,) where he adopts the words of Pericles, “ I am more alarmed at our own corruptions, than at the machinations of our enemies ; yet expresses his confidence that God would preserve the church in which his true gospel was proclaimed.

posed upon some, and furnished to others, who ought, upon every principle of honour and religion, to have appeared on the other side, a pretext for attaching themselves to him. Among those who weakly took part with the emperor we may reckon John of Brandenburg,¹ Eric of Brunswick, and George of Mecklenburg. Ulric of Würtemberg and the city of Frankfort were also, at an early period, so far overawed as to join them; while Joachim elector of Brandenburg, and Frederic elector Palatine professed to stand neuter; and Maurice of Saxony, having, with deliberate and too successful villainy, formed the plan of possessing himself, by means of these troubles, of the dominions and dignities of the elector, avowed his reliance on the emperor's word for the safety of religion, and secretly entered into a treaty with him to support him in the contest.² In the Archbishop of Cologne, an aged ecclesiastic, who, though a sincere protestant, had never joined the league, and was now also under sentence of deposition for his religion, the observance of neutrality, in obedience to the emperor's command, might well be excused.—On the other part, besides the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, with the brother and the eldest son of the former; Philip duke of Brunswick Calenberg and his four sons, Francis duke of Lunenburg, Wolfgang prince of Anhalt, Christopher count Henneberg,³ and Albert count Mansfeld openly ranged themselves.⁴ The city of Strasburg also did itself immortal honour by the part it acted, both at the commencement of the war, and after it

¹ Vol. i. 261. ² Robertson, iii. 353, 354

⁴ Sleidan, 375, 376, 384, 385, 395, 412-

SMALKALDIC WAR TO THE INTERIM.

A. D.
1546.

conclusion.¹ To it, in common with the other free cities in the protestant interest, the emperor addressed an insidious letter, professing to separate their cause from that of the princes of the same persuasion ; representing that there existed a conspiracy against their liberties and those of Germany ; and exhorting them to join him in putting down those traitorous persons, who were their common enemies. The senate replied, in dutiful but decided terms, advocating the cause of the reformation, asserting the fidelity of the princes, (of which the emperor, they said, had had large experience in the wars against the Turks,) and insisting that he had been taught to think injuriously of them by the pope and his adherents—the real authors of the present counsels ; and imploring him to pause and reflect before he involved Germany in all the horrors of civil war.²

After all the artifice practised and the secret preparations made by the emperor, the zeal of the protestants, when they saw war to be inevitable, anticipated him. They were first ready, and in great force,³ to take the field : and, had it not been for the hesitation with which men, and especially conscientious men, strike the first blow in a civil war, it seems not improbable that they might have stormed his camp at Ingoldstadt, and dispersed his collected army at the very outset.⁴ He also Schertel, a soldier of fortune, ancestor of the historian Seckendorf

Conduct of
the War.

August.

¹ It is surprising that Dr. Robertson (i mention Strasburg as a city which yielded weak submission.

² Sleid. 376, 378—380.

³ 70,000 foot, and 15,000 horse.

of some troops raised by the city of Augsburg, had the prospect of cutting off, at Inspruck, the pope's forces on their way to join the emperor: but he was timidly or injudiciously recalled by the elector and the landgrave.

These were only specimens of the manner in which the whole of the war was misconducted, in great measure in consequence of that divided and cōordinate authority vested in two chiefs, and those of such different characters, which has ever been found fatal to military operations. The great object pursued by the emperor was, to decline a battle, and, wearying out the patience of the confederates, to induce them to separate;¹ when his victory over each in succession would be sure. And in this design he eventually succeeded by the aid of Maurice of Saxony.

*Invasion of
Saxony by
Maurice.*

When the elector quitted his own country to join the confederates, he committed his dominions to the protection of that prince,—his next neighbour and his near relative, who had received great obligations from him, and professed, in common with himself, a zeal for the protestant faith: and Maurice, who had concealed his engagements to the emperor, with an insidious appearance of friendship, undertook the charge. No sooner, however, had the emperor informally and illegally put the elector and the landgrave to the ban of the empire,² than he sent Maurice a copy of his

¹ "They will soon be in difficulties," said he, "for want of two things, money and counsel." *Jour. Cōm. Preher's Germ. Rev. Script. iii. 408.*

² It was an express article of the capital Charles had ratified before he was admitted to dignity, that "he should put no one to the empire, who had not been previously condemned by the diet or the imperial chamber." *Coxe, House*

decree, and required him, on pain of incurring similar penalties, to seize, and retain in his hands, the forfeited estates of the elector; and Maurice, with whom it is probable the whole matter had been previously concerted, did not scruple, after some formalities observed to make a decent shew of reluctance, to march into his kinsman's territories, and, with aid received from Ferdinand king of the Romans, to attack and defeat his troops, and to take all things under his own administration.

A. D.
1547.

November.

This diversion had the desired effect. The elector indignant at such treachery, and afflicted at the accounts which he received of the sufferings endured by his subjects from licentious Hungarian soldiers, accustomed to the merciless modes of warfare practised against the Turks, became impatient to return home; and, in consequence, about the end of the year, the army of the confederates divided, and the greater part returned into their own countries under their respective leaders. The elector indeed succeeded in immediately rescuing his territories from the invaders, and in stripping Maurice for a time of nearly all his own dominions: but the separation of the army was the ruin of the cause. The emperor availed himself to the utmost of the advantage given him, and, with the exception of the elector and the landgrave, almost all the protestant princes and states were compelled to submit, to implore pardon in the most humiliating manner, and to pay heavy contributions for the part they had taken. The emperor allowed to make any stipulation.

Separation
of the pro-
testant
army.

1547.

453, 4to. Yet he now took upon him
proclamation alone. Robertson, in

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE

their religion : indeed the subject was not
mitted to be mentioned—in order to keep
the emperor's pretence, that the war, on
part, had no religious object.¹

On this painful occasion Melancthon wrote
to Cruciger, February 13, 1547 : “ At a
when our leaders had one of the most glorious
causes that the history of the world presents
and when the eyes of all Europe were turned
upon them, how lamentably have they disgraced
themselves ! But by these examples
admonishes us to look for heavenly success.
In the confidence of obtaining it, let us
our calamities with patience.”²

Defeat and
capture of
the Elector.

April 24.

Various circumstances for a time restrained
the emperor from marching into Saxony,
in the following spring these obstacles were
removed, and on the 24th of April he engaged
the elector at Muhlberg on the Elbe, defeated
and took him prisoner, and, in effect, terminated
the war. Wittemberg indeed, then esteemed
of the strongest places in Germany, animated
by the exhortations of the electress,—“ a woman
no less distinguished by her abilities than
virtues,”—still held out, and Charles was
in a condition to make himself master of it.
This appears³ to have suggested to him
a barbarous measure, intended to work upon the
feelings of the elector's family, of bringing
a justly venerated prince to a mock trial, before

¹ Sleid. 412—419, 434, 436.

² Mel. Ep. iii. 4.

³ Such is the account adopted by Robertson, Thuanus, and perhaps some other authorities, and it furnishes the most probable explanation of the emperor's outrageous conduct in this particular. No such reason, however, for the proceeding is noticed by Sleidan, (4: 429.) F. Paul, &c.—It is implied in Struvius's account, Corpus Hist. Germ. p. 1087, edit. Buder.

court martial composed of Spanish and
 alian officers, with the unrelenting duke
 Alva at their head; who, simply on the
 ound of the emperor's invalid decree, which
 exclaimed him a rebel and traitor, sentenced
 n to death. The unexpected personal danger
 her beloved consort so subdued the spirit
 the electress and her family, that she imme-
 tely conjured him, by letters and messengers,
 scruple no concession for his own preserva-
 n, and the relief of their anguish on his
 count: and the elector, who had been
 moved by his own danger, was induced by
 gard to the feelings of his family to agree
 terms of accommodation, to which he would
 t otherwise have listened. He consented to
 ign absolutely into the emperor's hands the
 ictoral dignity, and to put him in possession
 Wittemberg and such other parts of his
 minions as were yet unsubdued; and, in
 urn, Charles engaged to spare his life, and
 settle on him and his family the city of
 otha,¹ and the small territory attached to it,
 th an annual pension of fifty thousand
 rins, to be paid out of the revenues of the
 ctorate. He himself was to remain a
 petual prisoner.

A. D.
 1547.

May 10.

Maurice, as the reward of his iniquity, was
 mediately put in possession of the electoral
 minions, and some time after solemnly in-
 sted with the electoral dignity—which has
 r since continued in the family of his
 other, he himself having left no male issue.
 us are the wicked often permitted here to
 ctise and prosper, and the righteous sub-

Advance-
 ment of
 Maurice
 to the
 electoral

To this place the elector's eldest son had escaped,
 nded, from the field of battle at Muhlberg. Thuan.
 11.

jected to oppression : but we shall see that good elector, even in bonds, was an object of veneration, and might justly have been considered as an object of envy, in comparison with either his heartless conqueror or unprincipled relative,—for both of which chastisement was preparing—and for the emperor from no other hands than those of a man whom he was thus cherishing and exalting to the ultimate subversion of all his designs.

The emperor at
Wittemberg.

One thing deserves to be recorded to the emperor's honour on his taking possession of Wittemberg. The Spaniards, with Alva, would appear, and Granvelle, bishop of Auxerre, the emperor's minister, at their head, solicited him to destroy Luther's monument, and to dig up his bones : but Charles replied, " I have nothing more to do with Luther : he is committed to another judge, whose province we must invade. I wage war, not with the dead but with those who still bear arms against us."¹

The
Landgrave
induced to
surrender.

The landgrave alone now remained in arms, and he was shortly after drawn, we might say, trepanned, into submission. The emperor required him to surrender upon conditions to be dictated absolutely to him ; and he at length prevailed on, contrary to his

¹ Juncker, in Jortin's Erasmus, i. 126. 4to. Illesca " Historia Pontifical y Catolica" (ii. 628, Madrid) attests, that " many persons in authority," and among his confessor P. Soto, urged the emperor at this time to be led away by his wonted clemency," but " rigor to use the advantages of victory, as the most likely way of settling the affairs of religion : " and the historian " I have heard competent persons give it as their opinion that he would not have had cause to regret it, if he followed their counsels."

sentiments, to do it, having the guarantee of Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg for his personal liberty. In this, however, they, as well as the landgrave himself, were deceived. After the most abasing submissions in the emperor's presence, which were received with unfeeling and insulting neglect, he was suffered to retire, apparently at liberty, and was entertained by the duke of Alva: but, when after supper he rose to depart, the duke made known the orders he had received to detain him; and no intercessions, no representations whatever, could induce the emperor to release him, till after a lapse of five years he was compelled to do it by the reverse in his own affairs.

A. D.
1547.

June 19.

Conduct of
the elector
in captivity.

From these agitating, these irritating scenes, we turn to what is of a very different character, and much more in accordance with our design—the meekly magnanimous, the sublimely Christian conduct of the late elector, John Frederic, in captivity. All authors agree in bestowing this high praise upon him; but I shall chiefly follow Thuanus, who, being a Roman catholic, (though an eminently fair and candid one,) will be less suspected of partiality than protestant writers might be.

“The elector,” says this excellent author, “was a great man, and, even by the testimony of his enemies, equal in courtesy, liberality, prudence, and invincible fortitude, to the most distinguished princes. In the judgment of all men, he rose superior to his adverse fortune by the constancy of his mind.”¹

His constancy and composure.

“Though irresolute in council, he was bold in action.”² Accordingly his conduct at Muhl-

¹ Thuan. i. 142. “He obtained the glory of a liberality truly royal.” Ib. 456.

² Robertson.

berg, from the time that an engagement had become unavoidable, is highly commended. When, after discharging the duties of a brave commander, wounded in the face, exhausted with fatigue, and nearly deserted by his followers, he surrendered himself a prisoner, he was conducted immediately to the emperor. On approaching him, the elector took off his glove, and was about to alight from his horse that he might take the hand of the conqueror, as was the custom in such cases: but Charles spurned his approach. "I yield myself your prisoner, most gracious emperor," said John Frederic, "and hope"—the emperor interrupted him: "And am I now then your emperor? Charles of Ghent was all you could lately call me." The elector, unmoved, resumed—"I hope to be treated according to my rank." "You shall be treated according to your desert"—was all the reply the emperor vouchsafed him, instantly turning his back upon him.—Ferdinand openly reproached him, using expressions still more ungenerous and insulting. The elector returned no answer, but, with an unaltered countenance, accompanied the soldiers appointed to guard him.¹

Duke Ernest of Brunswick was made prisoner with the elector, and they were conveyed together in the same chariot, being led as it were in triumph after the emperor in his further progress through Saxony. Such an exhibition of the fallen elector was extremely afflicting to his subjects, who both honoured and loved

¹ Thuanus, i. 141. Robertson, iii. 405-6. Both these authors make the elector speak of "the fortune of war" having rendered him a prisoner. The simpler expression of Sleidan, (427,) which I have used, is more proper, as consonant to the speaker.

ce. O sad spectacle ! It often reminds me
the words, *He was numbered with the trans-*
sors."¹—" This indignity, however, was so
from subduing the elector's spirit, that it
not even ruffle the wonted tranquillity and
posure of his mind."²

This was strikingly illustrated when they
ved at Torgau, on their way from Muhlberg
Vittenberg. This town was adorned with
of the finest and most beautifully situated
les in Germany, which had been a hunting
of the electors of Saxony. " Here," said
elector to the Spanish officer who guarded
, " Here is something to gratify Maurice,
his mind is at ease to enjoy it." His com-
ion, Ernest, expressing surprise, and a de-
e of chagrin, that he should speak in this
ner of his own losses, he replied, " Why
uld I disquiet myself about things of this
ure, which even while we retain them can
dly be called our own ?" When Ernest
wered only by a deep sigh, he turned to
, and said in a lower tone, " I would gladly
il into your mind the same sentiments which
erish in my own, and which are well suited

rise above his calamities, and even in captivity come off more than conqueror over his victorious foe.”¹

When the sentence of death, passed upon him by the emperor’s iniquitous court martial was made known to him, he was amusing himself by playing at chess with his fellow captive. He paused for a moment, and without discovering any symptom of surprise or terror he observed, “So then, if Wittemberg does not surrender, I must die—for I see what is aimed at. Well, this does not dismay me. I wish it may no more affect my wife, and children, and friends, and that they may not, for the sake of adding a few days to a life already too long, renounce honours and possessions to which they were born.” He added, “I do not however, prohibit their yielding something for the satisfaction of their own feelings: but let them not, in their solicitude for me, forget themselves.” “He then turned to his antagonist, whom he challenged to continue the game. He played with his usual attention and ingenuity; and, having beaten Ernest, expressed all the satisfaction which is usually felt on gaining such victories. After this, he withdrew to his own apartment, that he might employ the rest of his time in such religious exercises as were proper in his situation.”²

Such self-possession, such more than philosophic calmness, produced by the pure principles of religion, it is delightful and edifying to contemplate. It presents to us a high example, and shews us how much even sincere Christians commonly rest short of what the truths they have received, being

¹ Thuan. i. 141-2.

² Ib. 142-3. Rob. iii. 409, 41

faithfully and fully applied, might enable them to attain.

We have next to notice the deposed emperor's invincible adherence to his religious principles under all circumstances.

His invincible adherence to his religious principles.

When the terms were proposed to him on which his life should be spared, and some arrangement made for the benefit of his family, one of the articles prescribed was, that he should approve whatever the emperor, or the council of Trent, should determine in matters of religion. But, while he consented to resign all his earthly dignities and possessions, he peremptorily rejected this article; nor could even the fear of immediate death induce him to listen to it: so that the haughty emperor was obliged to order it to be struck out.¹

When he had languished a year longer in captivity, and the emperor had introduced, and was enforcing, his scheme of religion, called the Interim, Charles, well knowing the influence which his prisoner's example would have with all the protestant party, laboured with the utmost earnestness to obtain his approbation of this formulary; and, by employing sometimes promises of setting him at liberty, sometimes threats of greater harshness, he attempted alternately to work upon his hopes and his fears: but it was all in vain. "He was daily more and more confirmed," he said, "by the study of the sacred writings, in the truth of the doctrines he had embraced; and nothing could be more criminal in him than to act contrary to this conviction: it would be no less than the sin against the Holy Ghost, which can never be forgiven." He entreated

¹ Thuan. i. 143. Sleid. 428.

the emperor, therefore, by all the mercies God in Christ, that he would not urge him to any such violation of his duty, or misinterpret his refusal. He was not actuated, he said, by vain-glory, or by any other worldly consideration—"for what was there of that nature which could outweigh in his estimation (especially considering his age and his habit of body,¹) the liberty of returning to repose at home in the society of his beloved wife and children?—but he aimed simply at this one object, by the true worship and service of God on earth, to come at length to the enjoyment of his heavenly kingdom. In all things else he had ever been, and ever would be ready to consult the emperor's wishes, and, as became an upright man, and one of his quality, would faithfully observe every engagement he had made to him."—This magnanimous conduct drew upon him fresh marks of the emperor's displeasure. The rigour of his confinement was increased; the number of his servants abridged; the chaplain,² who had hitherto attended him, was obliged from regard to his own safety to withdraw in disguise; and even the elector's books of devotion were taken from him.³

¹ Extremely corpulent and unwieldy.—Yet Luther, in his commentary on Genesis, (one of his latest works,) extols his laborious diligence ("incomparabilem laboriositatem") the elector. Seck. iii. 689.

² This appears to have been John Aurifaber, the collector of Luther's letters, and of others of his works. Seck. iii. 642.

³ Thuan. i. 173. Sleid. 462-3. Robertson, iii. 450-1. Aurifaber informs us, in how high estimation Luther's writings were held by the elector in his captivity. "My heart," said he, "is deeply affected, my inmost soul penetrates them. I derive more edification, comfort, strength, from a single page of Luther, than from whole volumes of other authors." Seck. iii. 642.

sented to him, and desired that he would
pose his authority with them in these
acts. But the elector replied, that he had
e stated his own sentiments on the new
ne of doctrine ; that they remained unal-
l ; and that he could not urge his children
that which he could not with a good con-
ce do himself. He entreated the emperor,
fore, to view in a favourable light both his
conduct and that of his sons. ¹

Another trying scene, which would have
overpowering to a worldly mind, served
to display still further his equanimity
Christian charity. At the diet held at
sburg in the year 1548, Maurice was to
solemnly invested with the electoral dig-
of which John Frederic had been stripped ;
as if in wanton mockery of the deprived
or's feelings, this was done in the open
et place within sight of his lodgings. His
tion being drawn by the acclamations of
eople, he walked to the window, and, for
ort time viewing the spectacle, observed,
ith what exultation do the friends of Mau-

Feb. 24.

CHAP.
X.His libera-
tion.1552.
Sept. 1.

After he had been dragged about, in manner we have seen, during more than years, such changes took place as no longer the emperor any motive for detaining him. accordingly obtained his liberty, and took session of the small territory which had reserved to his family, the districts of Jena Weimar having been added to that of G in lieu of the pension originally stipulat His return occasioned great joy to many; had honoured him in his prosperity, and still more revered him for his conduct u adversity. Melancthon thus celebrates event, with affectionate delight, in a letter friend. "Though public congratulations outstrip my letters, I must announce to that; through the goodness of God, the dul Saxony, John Frederic, is with his wife children in Thuringia. His peaceful retu more glorious than a blood-stained triu Posterity will recount this among the p that God hears the sighs of the righteous; relieves their troubles even in this life."² his conduct, and the esteem in which he held, after his return, Robertson says, "A his new situation he continued to display same virtuous magnanimity for which he been conspicuous in a more prosperous splendid state, and which he had retained an

¹ Coxæ's House of Austria, i. 511. Compare Sleid. 5² Mel. Epist. ii. 540. See also his preface to the IVt of Luther's Works, Wittemb.—Amsdorf, who had deprived of the bishopric of Naumburg soon after the mencement of the war, received the elector in his way at Isenach, and composed a hymn of thanksgiving; o occasion, which was sung responsively by young perso either sex, selected for the purpose. The elector was af even to tears, and exclaimed, "Who am I, that God s confer such honour upon me?"—Seckend. iii. 395. (k

JOHN FREDERIC WENT TO THE THRONES

at his sufferings, he maintained during the remainder of his life that high reputation to which he had so just a title. He survived his return only eighteen months, dying at Wismar March 8, 1554, at the age of fifty-one years, just after he had concluded with Augustus, the brother and successor of Maurice, an arrangement by which the electorate was to revert to his family in case that prince should have no children. His wife (Sibylla of Cleves) died eleven days before him, having obtained the centre of her heart; for frequently she had been heard to say, that she could die with entire resignation, if she might but see her beloved husband once more return home, in possession of his liberty. When her tomb was preparing, his physicians said that a place should be reserved for him by her side, saying, that he should soon follow her. "They both," says Sleidan, "died in the true knowledge of God;" and of the doctor, in particular, he observes, "Having heard a sermon as he lay on his bed, he implored the divine mercy, and commended his spirit into the hands of God; and thus departed out of this miserable life, to enter into the heavenly state."²

1547.

His death.

Account of the Land 1547

Of the sons of John Frederic nothing very

² Robertson iv. 100.

¹ Sleid. 596-7. Thuan. l. 455-6.—Melancthon addressed a letter on this solemn occasion to the elector's nephew and namesake, the duke of Pomerania, in which he presses on the young prince the imitation of his deceased uncle's virtues. "He knew," he observes, "that *the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom*. Hence he applied himself to the investigation of divine truth, and manifested the piety of his mind by devout prayer, by constancy in the profession of the faith, and by a watchful care over the churches. In his government, he was just and merciful. His private life was continent, and distinguished by the exercises of piety,—

memorable is recorded, except that, at their father's suggestion, they became the founders of the university of Jena, intended to supply the loss of that of Wittemberg.¹ The eldest passed nearly thirty years in captivity, and ended his days in that state, in consequence of an ill-advised attempt to retrieve the affairs of his family.²

Account of
the Land-
grave.

It would have been highly gratifying to present any accounts of the landgrave of Hesse similar to those which we have been reading of his old friend and ally: but, alas! his conduct in captivity in most points furnished a contrast to that of the elector. The treachery indeed (for it deserves no better name,) by which he had been deprived of his liberty, and the unfeeling cruelty with which his galling captivity was continued when no conceivable end remained to be answered by it, rouse our indignation even at this distance of time: yet his unabated impatience under his calamity, and the unworthy surrender even of his religious principles which he appears to have voluntarily offered, in order to obtain his liberty, while they excite our deepest regret, cannot escape our marked condemnation. He recovered his liberty about the same time with the elector of Saxony, and was reinstated in his dominions: but his sufferings appear to have broken the vigour and extinguished the activity of his mind. "From being the boldest, as well

1552.

reading, prayer, writing, and consultation with wise and eminent men. His judgment was sound, and his memory retentive; and he had made himself acquainted with all extant history."—Epist. iii. 24.

¹ Chytræi Saxonia, fol. 1599. p. 499. Seckend. iii. 578. (15.)

² Seck. iii. 466. (4.)

Dict at
Augsburg.

dictated his own terms to the princes and c which sought to make peace with him. Immediately after the battle, Bohemia, which shewn a disposition to assert the liberty by the constitution of its government below to it, and even to assist the elector of Sax was reduced under the almost absolute despotism of Ferdinand. In receiving the submission of the various states which were now compelled to bow to the emperor's yoke, no mention we have seen, was permitted to be made of religion. That whole subject was reserved for the diet which met at Ulm on the fifteenth of June, and, by adjournment, at Augsburg, on the first of September, 1547.¹ In both places the assembly was surrounded by the emperor's victorious troops, prepared to mould its sentiments to conformity with their master's wishes. Immediately on entering Augsburg, Charles took possession of the cathedral and some other churches, and, after they had been duly purified, restored the popish worship in them, so much in opposition to the wishes of the inhabitants that it is said the poorer classes were bribed to attend the service, lest the absence of a congregation should testify the feeling that prevailed.

The demand which the emperor first made was, that all should submit to the decision of the council of Trent. The Roman catholic states were, of course, sufficiently ready to make such an engagement; and several of the protestant princes—Maurice, the elector Palatine, and the elector of Brandenburg—from whom better things might have been hoped, were induced to concur in it. Some, however, even in these circumstances were found to hold fast to

¹ Sleid. 428, 431, 437.

A. D.
1547.

integrity: and with the *cities* the emperor was reduced to practise an extraordinary artifice. They drew up a memorial of the conditions on which they were willing to submit to the council, comprising some of the principal stipulations for which the protestants had ever contended. When the paper was presented to him, he affected, without ever looking at it, to consider it as a declaration of unreserved submission, and thanked them for their compliance with his wishes.¹

Council
of Trent
interrupted.

But on the subject of the council difficulties arose which the emperor had not anticipated. Scarcely had Charles's successes against the protestants commenced, when the pope became sensible of the danger to which he should be exposed, if the emperor became absolute master in Germany. At the earliest period, therefore, that the engagements into which he had entered would allow, he withdrew his quota of troops from the imperial army, and even began to project an alliance with the king of France.² No longer daring to trust a council assembled at Trent, where it would be exposed to the emperor's influence, he translated it to Bologna, where he might hope to have it under his own control: but, as this removal must destroy all expectation of the council's being acknowledged by the Germans, it was strenuously opposed by the emperor and other princes; which produced a schism in the council itself, such of the fathers as were under the emperor's influence pertinaciously remaining at Trent, while the

March 11.

¹ Sleid. 440-1. F. Paul, 258. Robertson, iii. 440.

² The emperor was seasonably relieved from danger from this quarter, by the death of his old rival Francis I, March 11, 1547. Henry VIII. of England had died two months before.

1551.
Sept. 1.The
Interim.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE

rest departed to Bologna. Much altercation ensued, which issued in an indefinite adjournment of the assembly: nor were any means found of adjusting the difference, and bringing the council again into action, till Julius III.¹ had succeeded Paul III. in the papal chair, and till the season of enforcing its decrees was past.²

Thus disappointed in his views from this quarter, Charles, for the purpose of establishing peace and uniformity in religion throughout Germany, resolved on a measure which as much astonished the devoted Romanists, as it proved oppressive to the protestants. This was no other than bringing forward to be sanctioned by the diet, and thus enforced in the empire, a scheme of doctrine afterwards known by the name of the *Interim*—from its being proposed to be continued in force only till the decision of a satisfactory general council could be had. The persons whom Charles employed to draw up this formulary were Pflug, bishop of Naumburg, Heldingus, made the year following bishop of Mersburg, and Agricola Islebius; the two former Romanists of some moderation, and the latter little better than an apostate Lutheran.³ The work was such as might be expected from its authors. “Its contents,” says Thuanus, “were agreeable to the hitherto received doctrine of the Roman catholic church, except that it did not

¹ Cardinal di Monte, elected Feb. 8, 1550.

² F. Paul, 208, 242, 248, &c.

³ “Suspected not without reason,” says Robertson, “of having been gained by bribes and promises, to betray or mislead his party on this occasion.” Rob. iii. 444. “He had liberal rewards for his pains from the emperor and king Ferdinand.” Sleid. 468.—Concerning the three compilers of the Interim, the reader may consult the index to the former volume of this work.

A. D.
1547.

utterly condemn the marriage of priests, or
completely reject communion in both kinds."¹
It was drawn up, however, very much upon
the plan of the book submitted seven years
before to the diet of Ratisbon, and of Gropper's
scheme of reformation for Cologne;² and con-
sequently was "expressed, for the most part,
in the softest words, or in scriptural phrases, or
in terms of studied ambiguity."

Before it was publicly brought forward, the
Interim was submitted to the examination
of select persons. Bucer, being sent for from
Strasburg by the elector of Brandenburg, who
now "made it his study to please the emperor,"³
was pressed both by him and Granvelle, the
emperor's chief minister, to subscribe it; and,
on his refusing to do so, it was not without
danger of his life that he made his escape, and
returned home.⁴ A copy of the work was also
sent to Rome, where a great outcry was made
against the emperor's presumption in adventur-
ing to meddle with such subjects, as well as

¹ *Interim*, p. 172.

² *Comment. de M. Melancthon*, p. 243. See above vol. i.
p. 172. *Interim*, p. 172. Melancthon however complains
that he had not made the same of it in the article of jus-
tification. He had not time to do so, at least if his own
statements be true. *Interim*, p. 172. Melancthon, p. 172.

³ *Interim*, p. 172. We were willing to see the Interim, if not
even defective, of some use to the cause of Protestantism, and our
pain is not to be excused by supposing that there were interested
motives which we did not see. He ought to have been
admitted to see the Interim, and to have been allowed to
the Archbishop of Mentzer, who was elected by the emperor
in 1542. How great is the danger of the present world.
The elector of Brandenburg, who was elected by the emperor
in 1542, was not so easily won over to the emperor's cause.

⁴ *Interim*, p. 172. *Interim*, p. 172.

against some things contained in the book. The aged pope, however, more sagacious from long experience in affairs, only wondered that Charles could be so elated by one victory, as to imagine that he could dictate the faith of both parties; predicted, that "what all would impugn and none defend" must soon fall; and in the mean time, with consummate artifice, affecting to believe that Charles, as a secular prince, was not pretending to prescribe articles to the faithful, to which they were to lower down their belief, but only to the heretics those to which they must raise their's in order to be tolerated, he urged an explicit declaration to that effect. With regard to the two points of the marriage of priests and the giving of the cup to the laity, he observed, that it belonged only to himself to grant dispensations to that effect; that, "if the emperor took upon him to allow them as lawful, he would grievously offend Almighty God; but that, holding them unlawful, he might yet permit them to the heretics as the less of two evils."¹

Its rati-
fication by
the diet.

The emperor, having consulted with the ecclesiastical electors, corrected the book as he judged fit, and prefixing a preface by which its application was limited, according to the pope's suggestion, to those who had deviated from the ancient doctrine and usages, and did not choose to return to them, he proposed it in the diet, March 15, 1548; when, either by previous concert with the emperor, or of his own instance, the archbishop of Mentz, the premier elector, rising up, immediately after it had been read, and before any of the members had opportunity of expressing their sentiments upon

¹ F. Paul, 271—274 : Courrayer i. 472-3.

REFORMATION: FROM THE INTERIM.

it returned thanks to the emperor, in the name of the diet, for his paternal and provident care for them in the important matter of religion and the peace of the empire. Every law was renewed, but no one ventured to improve his condition; so no servile state were the princes of Germany reduced; and the emperor, reflecting to consider the archbishop's silence at the dissolution of the diet, closed the business, and enrolled the Interim among the solemn decrees of the empire.¹

Within the Interim, which prescribed the doctrine to be received, was connected a series of ecclesiastical regulations, designed to regulate all matters of order and discipline. This gave still higher offence at Rome than the regulation of doctrine, as perhaps wanting the restriction prefixed to the Interim, and directly infringing the fundamental principle, that no secular person is to give law to the clergy in anything relating to their ecclesiastical character or functions. Among some things of a better kind, the following most objectionable orders were promulgated: that the monastic life should be restored where it had been discontinued; that nothing should be taught in schools contrary to the old, or Roman catholic, doctrine; that the Latin tongue should be retained in the services of the church, - lest they should fall into contempt if the people understood the language; and that the canon of the mass, (the Romish prayer of consecration, which is innumerable, should be preserved entire, and should be pronounced as the custom was

A.D.
1548.

Annexed
scheme of
reforma-
tion.

June 14.

¹ Sleid. 453-4, 458-461. F. Pauli. . . . may be seen in Goltzius's *Constitutiones* . . . a pretty copious abstract of the Interim.

CHAP.
X.Reception
of the
Interim.

been, in a low voice, "that the dignity of those dreadful mysteries might be kept up."¹

The Interim met with the fate it deserved, and which might have been expected. "It was rather rejected by all," says F. Paul, "than accepted by any: and that did follow, which doth ordinarily happen to him that would unite contrary opinions—he maketh both parties agree to impugn his sentiments, and each man obstinate in maintaining his own."²

Maurice.

The emperor, however, spared no pains to procure, or to enforce, an external compliance with it. Among the protestant princes, we regret to state that Joachim of Brandenburg, and Frederic elector Palatine made no scruple of receiving it.³ Ulric of Würtemberg, also, whose country was filled with Spanish garrisons, acquiesced in it.⁴ Maurice of Saxony, contrary to what is frequently stated, never gave an unconditional assent to the Interim, nor ever established it in his country. He told the emperor that he could not do it, consistently with his express engagements to his subjects; and he pleaded the emperor's own promises relative to religion. Immediately after it had passed the diet he left Augsburg, and called an assembly of his states to communicate to them what had taken place, and to consider how far they could concur in it. After repeated meetings, wherein the question of submission to authority in things indifferent, which subsequently produced very serious controversies, was first moved, a form of religion for his territories was agreed upon at Leipsic.⁵—There were not

¹ Sleid. 463-4. F. Paul, 274-5: Cour. i. 480. Dupin vii. 88.

² F. Paul, 277. ³ Sleid. 461. ⁴ Ib. 462.

⁵ Camerar. Vit. Mel. § 84. Melanc. Consil. ii. 5. Sleid. 460, 478, 481. Hanc, ii. 135-6. Du Pin, vii. 89.—Dr.

CHAP.
X.Wolfgang
of
Deuxponts.

others also. He accordingly departed immediately, and made no alteration of religion within his territories.¹—The duke of Deuxponts, being frequently pressed upon the subject, frankly told the emperor, “that he had hitherto known no religion but that in which he was brought up; that he had examined it, and was convinced of its accordance with the word of God; that he should wound his conscience, and risk the safety of his soul, if he consented to all parts of the Interim: that the same was the opinion of his divines, and that he could not think of compelling them to go contrary to their consciences.” Here too a bold and faithful avowal of principle was crowned with success, and no further engagement appears to have been exacted of the duke, than that he would conform as far as he conscientiously could.²—The sons and the subjects of the landgrave of Hesse appear also to have successfully refused the Interim.³

Hesse.

Persecution
of the free
cities.

But it was in the case of the free cities that the emperor's tyranny was especially exerted. In them the doctrines of the reformation had taken the deepest root. In them also, by the constitution of their government, principles of liberty, obnoxious to one who aspired at absolute monarchy, were most prevalent. Could they have united their counsels and their resources, they might have made their wishes to be respected: but their dispersed situation rendered this impracticable, and Charles determined to put down opposition in each of them separately, before combination could be attempted among them. Hence Augsburg, Ulm, Halle in Suabia, with Stras-

¹ Sleid. 460-1.² Ib. 461, 480.³ Ib. 477, 483.

burg, Constance, and other cities, suffered great oppression. In Augsburg, being master of every thing, he abolished the existing form of government; dissolved all the corporations and fraternities; and displaced the magistrates, substituting for them creatures of his own, each of whom was sworn to observe the Interim.¹ He next proceeded to Ulm, and, besides effecting like changes there, carried off in chains Martin Frechtius, and such others of the ministers as refused to comply with his enactments.²—These examples produced their effect in procuring the submission of the neighbouring cities; in consequence of which most of the protestant ministers were compelled to quit their stations. Musculus, foreseeing the storm, had shortly before removed from Augsburg to Berne:³ Snepfius now retired from Tübingen; Osiander from Nuremberg. Suabia, which was occupied in every part by Spanish troops, suffered most severely. “We hear,” says Melancthon, “of dreadful devastation in some of the churches. In Suabia and on the Rhine more than four hundred pastors have been expelled, and some of them murdered. Every species of violence is committed. The churches are shut up, and there is no one left even to baptize the children. At Tübingen (in Würtemberg) all the pastors and preachers are driven away, and only one priest left, who, in compliance with the directions of the Interim, has restored the mass. Such is the *golden age*, which Agricola and his coadjutors promised us!” “The city of Ratisbon entreated the emperor that their church

A. D.
1548.

August.

¹ Sleid. 469, 470.

² Ib. 472-3, 479.

³ Ib. 461: above, i. 216 (2).

might not be disturbed. He answered by expelling in one day seven ministers of the gospel, and closing the sacred edifices." "For such victories as these the cardinal of Augsburg has erected a trophy, returning thanks to the emperor for the restoration of concord."¹

The sufferings of the excellent Brentius² of Halle, in Suabia, are particularly noticed. At the commencement of the war, his house had been seized and plundered by the Spanish soldiers : and now, he having boldly given his opinion, in answer to the interrogatories proposed to him, against the new form of doctrine, orders were issued by Granvelle, the emperor's minister, for his being sent in chains to Augsburg. He escaped by flight, and by hiding himself in the woods ; while his fate was unknown even to his own family. His house was again rifled : and his wife, with six children, was expelled from the city, though she was labouring under severe illness, of which she soon after died : and eventually he was formally banished from the place in which he had exercised his ministry for twenty-six years. For some time he wandered about, not knowing where to find a refuge ; but at length he was generously harboured by Ulric of Würtemberg, though that prince was by no means himself free from danger.³—Thus, in later ages, as well as in the times referred to by the apostle, have those "of whom the world was not worthy" "wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth—being destitute, afflicted, tormented," while their adversaries "did according to their own will."

¹ Mel. Consil. ii. 73, 87, 88, 93, 96. ² Vol. i. 177, 525.

³ Sleid. 461-2. Thuan. i. 173.

sion on the other side, can ever imagine it possible, that their salvation should be promoted by such a constrained and merely external compliance, as he can exact.

Still, however, the heartless trampler on all rights, human and divine, had no other answer to return to this forcible appeal of the senate of Strasburg, than this, "That they must comply or take the consequences." But they were not to be silenced: they persevered in entreaty and expostulation, till at length the emperor told them, that they might settle the affair with their bishop: and with him, after immense difficulty, they did so far succeed as to establish a compromise, by which they ceded three of their churches, and retained the rest, with their own ministers to officiate in them.¹—It was

1549.
Oct.

¹ Sleid. 461, 464—466, 471, 473-4, 478, 480, 485.—Sleidan gives a very amusing account of the renewed celebration of the mass at Strasburg, and the impression produced by it, when the ceremony had not been seen there for more than twenty years. "Great was the concourse of people that flocked to the church, especially of the youth: for to them it was a strange kind of sight, to see a great many men with shaven crowns, in a new sort of habit, singing altogether what nobody understood; tapers and lamps burning at noon-day, incense streaming up and smoking out of censers; the priest, with his subservient ministers, standing before the altar; speaking in a strange language; using various kneelings and gestures; bowing down with hands joined; one while stretching forth his arms, and by and by contracting them again; turning about to the people; raising his voice high at some times, and at others muttering to himself very softly; now casting up his eyes, and then prostrating himself on the ground; shuffling about from place to place, now on the right, and now on the left side of the altar; playing tricks with his fingers; breathing into a chalice; then lifting it on high, and then setting it down again; naming, in certain places, now the dead, and now the living; breaking the wafer and putting it into the chalice; striking his breast with his fist; sighing, shutting his eyes, as if he were asleep, and

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

[illegible]

The reflections of Melancthon and his friends in the midst of these scenes, are such as might have expected from their piety and dom. "The dangers of the church," says excellent man, in a letter in which he notes the death of his valued friend Cruciger on first of December 1548, "are such that we dently cannot be saved by human intervention. Indeed all human protection is withdrawn. Nothing remains for us but a pious confession of the truth by individuals, and earnest prayer to Almighty God."—Again, in an address which he drew up for George of Anhalt, and which that illustrious ecclesiastic recited to the assembled clergy of the diocese of Mersburg, October 6, 1549, he says: "To the consolations which I have now offered you, permit me to add the following exhortations: As we are here with so many afflictions, let us be more humble in all our life and conversation; let us be diligent in learning and teaching; that all may perceive that we hold the true doctrine unperverted. Let our prayers also be more fervent to God: and in them let us commend ourselves with the unfeigned sighs and groans of our hearts, the church universal—ourselves—our families—our wives and children, since it is an undoubted truth, that the church is preserved and governed, not by mere human counsel but by the special care of God himself. Therefore, O Almighty God, eternal and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator of heaven and earth, and of mankind, For of the whole church of angels and men: together with thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified for us and rose again: and thy Holy Spirit: do Thou, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, have compassion."

church needed to be sifted and purified. As our own archbishop Cranmer remarked on this very occasion, for the warning of his countrymen: "In Germany, although the gospel had shed its glorious light, yet a large proportion of such as were within reach of its beams had refused to reform their lives according to its direction. Hence, it is said, have these unrepenting converts been delivered over to imperial and papal oppression."¹ Still, however, there were found persons, even in the highest class of society, to stand firm, and make a faithful protest. Whole senates contended for the truth,² and numerous pious ministers and others patiently suffered for it: and, even where corrupt doctrines and superstitious rites were publicly enforced, the sentiments of the people remained unaltered: and the work of God, we must ever remember, is carried on in the breasts of individuals, and princes and public officers, considered as part of his church, are no more than other men, except as their influence is more extensive. The rending asunder of the endeared connexion between faithful pastors and their flocks, wherever it took place, was a mournful event: yet thousands, thus deprived of public ordinances in which they could conscientiously join, would worship God, even with increased devoutness, in private. "The Lord knoweth

the saying of our Saviour, and of S. James, that faith is shewed but by works."—F. Paul, 689-90.

¹ Soames's English Ref. iii. 452.

² The period of the Interim has been fixed upon by some respectable commentators as that of "the slaying of the witnesses," Rev. xi. From what has been already stated, and what remains to be stated hereafter, the reader may judge for himself how far the suppression of the sacraments at this time, even within the limits of the Interim, as to answer the terms of the prophecy.

should purchase or distribute any of the writings of Luther, Œcolampadius, Zuingle, Bucer, or Calvin, or, in general, any of the books prohibited in the Index of the divines of Louvain : that no conventicles should be held in private houses : that no persons should dispute about the holy scriptures, nor any except authorized divines presume to interpret them : that offenders against these rules should be punished, *men by the sword, and women by being buried alive*, if they forsook their errors, but, if not, that they should be *burned* ; and that, in either case, their goods should be confiscated :¹ that such as, not out of malice and obstinacy, but through infirmity, had fallen into heresy, and had voluntarily returned and abjured their errors, should not for the time to come adventure to hold any discourse on matters of faith and religion, on pain of being punished as relapsed heretics : that none should receive into his house, or otherwise succour, persons suspected of heresy : that no one removing, without having a certificate from the curate of his parish, should be allowed any habitation—as he must be regarded as a suspected person ; and that all such as had fled upon being cited to appear and answer for heresy, should be held convicted and condemned, and not allowed subsequently to clear themselves : that any person, knowing the lurking-place of any heretic, should instantly discover it to the inquisitor,² or the governor

¹ “ Qui secus fecerint, punientur ut seditiosi et publicæ tranquillitatis perturbatores : ac viri quidem gladio feriantur, fœminæ autem in terram defodientur, si quidem ab errore desistent : si vero pertinaces erunt, exurentur ; publicis ipsorum bonis, utrumcunque luant supplicium.” Sleid. lib. xxii.

² Many places were favoured with the services of indi-

1549.

by order of the parliament of Paris : the reason of which severities, the historian says, was, that the number of those who embraced Luth doctrines was “wonderfully increased.”—And this was the case not in France only, but also in Italy, which caused the senate of Venice at that time to renew the decrees which it had made on the subject twenty years before.¹ The year following also, on occasion of the solemn entry of Henry II. into Paris, after the coronation of the queen, some persons were burned for heresy in the presence, it is said, of the king himself, who felt called upon to publish edicts expressing his determination “to root out heresy from his dominions.”² But the details of what passed in France will belong to a subsequent part of this history, should it be permitted to be continued.—In addition to these brief notices it will not be forgotten, that this very period of the threatened suppression of protestantism in Germany was that of its triumph, under Edward VI, in England.

Account
of Melan-
thon.

But the reader will naturally desire to learn what, amid these changing and turbulent scenes, were the conduct and fate of Melanthon—the most interesting character, since Luther was removed, that Germany could boast. And to afford full information upon this subject has been purposely reserved to the closing part of the present chapter.

¹ Thuan. i. 181-2. Sleid. 468. It was at this period Vergerio quitted Italy. Vol. i. 456.—Since the publication of the former volume of this work, in which some notices of Italy were inserted, the subject of the extended progress of the reformation in that country, and its final suppression by the merciless hands of the inquisition, (which “almost saved popery,” even in its head quarters,) has received important illustration from the pen of Dr. M’Crie, to whose highly interesting volume I gladly refer my readers. ² Sleid. 4

His return.

driven out to seek a retreat where he might be able to find one.¹ Zerbst, in the principality of Anhalt, was the place at which he chiefly passed his time, under the anxious protection of the princes of that house: but, as soon as the war was terminated, he embraced the earliest opportunity of returning to Wittemberg;² and preferred continuing there to either accepting the offers made him by Maurice of an advantageous settlement in the university of Leipsic, or joining the new establishment of the sons of John Frederic at Jena. Maurice sent for him, Bugenhagius, and Cruciger, treated them with kindness, and committed to them the administration of the affairs both of the church and the university; assigned them salaries; and desired them to proceed as they had been accustomed to do.³

Melancthon was censured by some of his old friends, (not all of them very temperate persons,)⁴ for settling under the dominion of the man who had subverted the late electoral house, instead of attaching himself inseparably to the old family. But the censure does not appear to have been reasonable. Wittemberg had been the scene of his studies, his labours, and his connexions from early life: a partiality for it was therefore natural and laudable. He considered it as the focus from which light had been, and from which he trusted it would continue to be, diffused over that part of Germany;

¹ Epist. ii. 433, he observes that he lost a great part of his books and furniture.—At that time, says Camerarius, “I was, like many others, a fugitive, wandering to and fro, without my family.”

² He resumed his academical employments by commencing a course of lectures on S. Paul’s epistle to the Colossians, October 24, 1547. Melch. Adam, i. 165.

³ Sleid. 435.

⁴ Amsdorf, &c.

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and believed that, if that university were permitted to fall, it would be a great public loss. He laboured therefore most anxiously to restore its prosperity.—The sons of John Frederic also fell much short of their revered father's character; and Melancthon distrusted the prudence, as well as the success, of the attempt made to establish a new academy under their auspices, at that particular juncture. As to settling under Maurice's government, when all had been now definitively arranged, and the assent of John Frederic himself given to the stringement, it would have been idle to object to it: and would it not have been worse than idle to refuse to occupy the field, which, as we have seen, was opened to Melancthon and his confidential friends by Maurice himself? "I have come hither," Melancthon writes, "not to join the party of our enemies, but to succour a mourning church."¹

In every thing that concerned religion Melancthon was consulted by Maurice. In the year 1548, that prince held no less than eight conventions of his states on the subject, and three in the year following;² at all of which, except the first, Melancthon was present, and drew up most of the papers which were adopted or considered in them.—It has been already intimated, that he incurred much censure for the concessions here made; and, from the manner in which his conduct is generally spoken of, it would be inferred, that he had been induced actually to countenance the Interim.³

His transactions
with
Maurice.

¹ Camerar. Vit. Mel. § 72, 73, 75, 76. Strobel.

² Enumerated, *ibid.* Append. xvii.

³ See Robertson, iv. 14, 15. The reference to this passage is thus made in Robertson's Index, under the name *Melancthon*—"Is prevailed on to favour the Interim!"

CHAP.
X.His oppo-
sition to
the Interim.

But so far was this from being the case, that I should rather affirm that his opposition to that formulary was even heroic, both when it was previously submitted to his examination, and after it was adopted and published by authority. To this his "Consilia," which exhibit the papers relative to it, written by him, in conjunction with his colleagues, bear ample testimony. These papers are numerous in the Latin Consilia, and reference is made to a German collection as adding to their number. Some are private, for his own use ; some, letters to friends, or to learned and religious bodies ; some, formal memorials to Maurice and his ministers, and other persons in authority ; some are in his own name alone, and some are signed jointly by him and one or more of his friends and coadjutors, Bugenhagius, Cruciger, Major, Pfeffinger, and Froschelius ; some are brief, while others follow the Interim from article to article, passing the just censure upon each. They profess, indeed, to be confined to points of importance, and not to obtrude nice and doubtful discussions upon the attention of the princes. A spirit of combined firmness and moderation pervades them. They avow a readiness, on the part of those whose signatures they bear, to concur in any thing tolerable, where ritual matters alone were concerned, and advise the elector not to make a stand on some things which it might yet have been wished had been otherwise : but on all the great points at issue—on justification, on the invocation of saints, on the necessity of the particular confession of sins to man in order to the pardon of them by God, on the sacrifice of the mass, private masses, and masses for the dead—on all these and other topics they declare that the writers can never acquiesce in

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the book prescribes, and that they will suffer
shame, imprisonment, or death, rather
ever consent to do it.¹ From the first,
methon denounced the idea of establishing
a formulary by law, as "an infatuated
act," which would multiply, instead of heal-
divisions, nay, would fill the country with
sections and tumults: the very stones, he
would cry out against it; it would disgrace
German churches in the eyes of all the world;
could never be supported but by manifest
and unrelenting persecution. He im-
n Almighty God, therefore, that such per-
ous counsels might never be adopted.² In
it, his opposition to it was so loud and
sistent that the emperor, regarding him as
most formidable individual adversary that
ad to encounter, ordered him to be seized,
delivered up to him, as "an enemy of the
lie peace."³ He was screened however by
rice, who appears to have secreted him for
e time in a monastery at Cell on the
law,⁴ as the elector Frederic had done
her in the castle of Wartburg. But, as far
his own private dangers were concerned,
methon was unmoved amid the storm.
"I am called upon to answer," he writes to
erarius, "though I find that the emperor
raged against me, I shall simply say, that
annot assent to such delusions. And I will
assent to them....I will do to the end as I
e hitherto done; wherever I go, I will ex-
is the same sentiments; I will aim to carry
ut with me a heart lifted up to God; and

Constitution. II. 1—100.

¹ In 1548, 1549, 1550, 1551, 1552.

Coment. V. 1. Mel. 1. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

It. not. 1. 79. From the year 1548 to the year 1552, in
interim were written.

I will yet retain my wonted moderation, and avoid exciting seditions.”¹

The closing sentence of this quotation will be better understood, when it has been seen how he was assailed by men of his own party for whom he did not go far enough, as well as by those of the opposite party, for whom he went much too far. But hitherto, assuredly, we trace little of that “weakness and timidity” which he is said to have manifested, chiefly perhaps because it is thought that he ~~must~~ have done it, when deprived of the support of Luther. Rather, so far as we have yet gone, we have reason to say that the mantle of Elijah has fallen upon Elisha, and to adore that grace of God which made Melancthon’s “strength” proportioned to his exigencies, and raised a man of his temperament to this tone of determined vigour.

Extent
of his
concessions.

Adiaphoris-
tic con-
troversy.

But the point on which Melancthon especially gave dissatisfaction and offence to many of his brethren (who afterwards affected the name of *genuine* Lutherans,) was, his maintaining, that in things purely indifferent it was lawful, even in matters of religion, to submit to the commands of an earthly superior. The difficulties attending this position, and the abuse to which it may be liable, from the latitude with which the term indifferent may be interpreted, are obvious: they gave rise at this time to a fierce controversy in Germany, characterised by the appellation *adiaphoristic*,² which bordered closely on one afterwards carried on in England, and which may thus claim our attention at a future stage of our progress. The spirit manifested by Melancthon’s opponents will now be

¹ Melch. Ad. in Vit. Mel. i. 165.

² Indifferential.

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universally condemned. "Rather than yield submission," exclaimed Flacius of Magdeburg, the principal leader of them, "we ought to see the churches desolated, and to terrify our rulers with the dread of insurrections."¹ With a great proportion of my readers the question of interest will relate, rather to the extent to which Melancthon carried his concessions under the name of conformity in things indifferent, than to the principle itself which he thus admitted. And here it is not to be denied that he has been generally censured. Calvin, with whom he kept up a friendly correspondence to the end of his life, tells him, that he understood he had "sanctioned some gross corruptions, which tended to weaken and deform the church;"²

¹ Melch. Ad. i. 165.—Matteo Flacio *Illyricus*, or the *Sclaronian*, quitted his native country for the sake of religion, and settled in Germany. He was the principal compiler of the valuable ecclesiastical history intitled *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, and the author of other esteemed works. He was a man of learning and talents, but intemperate and violent. Melch. Ad. Vit. Flacii, c. 225. McCrie's Italy, 94.

² It is striking, however, to observe the moderation of Calvin on this subject. "It is lamentable to think how the enemies of Christ exist at your conference with the divines of Magdeburg... Express me if I cannot altogether release you from blame—whereas you may judge what my accusations others bring against you. If you are not yourself too ready to punish your brethren, you will be blamed for it besides what you are already charged with. You call the dissenters that follow the decrees of the council of God. Some persons are perhaps of opinion that you are wrong, and as touching a report of your having been placed in such a situation as to be unable to do otherwise, but if I have any knowledge of the matter, I am sure you have acted wisely. You have shown some of the most valuable qualities of the church of God, and have been the cause of many good things. Magdeburg has been the cause of many good things, and has been the cause of many good things."

and the current representation of modern writers may be given in the words of Dr. Robertson: "Many of the protestant ecclesiastics, whom Maurice consulted, proceeded to class among the number of things indifferent, several doctrines, which Luther had pointed out as gross and pernicious errors in the Romish creed; and placing in the same rank many of those rites which distinguished the reformed from the popish worship, they exhorted their people to comply with the emperor's injunctions concerning these particulars."¹ How far Melancthon and his friends, the persons especially consulted by Maurice, are justly exposed to these charges, or how far they have suffered from the representations of intemperate opponents, the reader will be enabled in some degree to judge, from the extracts which it is proposed to lay before him from the writings of this period; in giving which, however, it is not my intention merely to illustrate this point, but to exhibit the doctrines maintained, and the spirit displayed, by these confessedly moderate reformers, after the impetuous and intemperate Luther (as some have esteemed him,) was removed from among them.

Doctrines
of Melanc-
thon and
his friends.

The earlier articles of the Interim, "on the creation and fall of man, original sin, and recovery by Christ," Melancthon and his friends remark, might be allowed to pass without

them as well as with you. But *good and pious men every where complain* that you have sanctioned gross corruptions &c." Calv. Melancthoni. in Weisman's Hist. Sacra, i. p. 1534. Hal. Magd. 1745.—It is observable, from the last sentence, that the writer spoke much from the reports which he had received from others.

: Robertson. iv. 15.

yourself, and require the existence of love and other virtues, (though they must exist there but, besides these feeble and imperfect graces we must possess this true consolation, namely an affiance in the Mediator, and a belief that God is assuredly ready to accept us, and hear our cries and groans, and not to reject us. And this confidence must be rested on the Spirit of God, and not on our own holiness and Christian graces.—All our virtues in this life are weak and imperfect, and much evil and corruption remain in our hearts. We must needs therefore fly to the Mediator, lay hold on him, and seek grace and mercy through him.—We are filled with horror at the view of the greatness of our own sins and miseries and therefore are compelled, when we would find peace of mind, to fly to the one only Propitiator, whom God in infinite mercy and wisdom hath proposed to us, and then, as the apostle testifies, *being justified by faith we have peace with God.*"¹

And this doctrine, they affirm, "had not any time been wholly lost; though the doctrine from the very time of Adam's fall and recovery had never relaxed his efforts to suppress it. Even when most obscured, it was yet to be traced in the experience, the spiritual exercises, of all pious humble minds."² In the protestant churches it was now so thoroughly known and received, that the errors of the Interim would be readily detected, and scarce an individual would be found to listen to its work."³

The rejection of the true doctrine by those who compiled the Interim is traced, in general

¹ Consil. ii. 33, 39, 40, &c. ² Ib. 36, 40, 52. ³ Ib. 39,

asure, to their erroneous views of the nature
 faith. They understood by it nothing more
 than a mere historical assent. Hence they
 maintained that faith might exist without love,
 in persons who were living in sin ; and “ that
 is still no less faith, if only it acknowledge
 that doctrine.”¹ And hence again, in manifest
 contradiction to the scriptures, they scarcely
 reckoned faith among the graces of the Spirit
 all.²

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Of many of the popish practices, and par-
 ticularly of the invocation of saints, they speak
 “ gross and horrible idolatry.” “ It is
 plain that the invocation of saints, and flying
 images, is one of the greatest abuses and
 atrocities of these later ages. This heathenish
 custom, it is true, soon crept into the church—
 an argument of the weakness of human
 nature, and of the facility with which man is
 withdrawn from the true worship of God.”—
 a proof that the invocation of saints is
 idolatrous is thus concisely stated. “ Prayer
 to an invisible and absent being attributes to
 that being the power of knowing the heart—
 a power exclusively divine. Therefore prayers
 to saints are idolatrous.”³

Invocation
 of saints.

The passages which speak the determination
 of the writer and his friends to adhere to the
 truth, and to reject so insidious a work as
 the Interim, by whatever power imposed, are
 numerous and striking. “ To renounce the
 truth of the gospel, after having clearly known
 it, and to join ourselves with those who per-
 secute it, would amount to the unpardonable
 sin in which may God mercifully prevent our
 ever involving ourselves! And, though

Resolution
 of Melan-
 thon on
 his firm

¹ Precisely Bp. Bull's principle.
 consil. ii. 26, 31, 32, 33, 38. ³ Ib. 22, 1

and desolation be threatened in case we refuse, we ought to make more account of the commandment of God than of all such evils." "As no creature either in heaven or earth can change the wondrous counsel of God revealed in the gospel, so, by his help, we will still set forth the same doctrine concerning faith and good works, which we have taught in these churches for many years past: for it is most clearly revealed in the holy scriptures, divinely vouchsafed unto us." "Our sentiments being asked, we cannot but deliver them unequivocally, though we would do it with the meekness and moderation which become Christians: and, for the dangers which we may incur by so doing, we will commend ourselves to the almighty and eternal God, the Father of our Redeemer and Saviour, Jesus Christ."—Writing singly, Melancthon says, "Never will I burden my conscience by sanctioning this book." "I will by no means give my assent to it, though I know there are those who thirst for my blood. But I support myself with the hope of divine protection, and the comfort of a good conscience."¹

To the churches of Berlin and the neighbourhood, Melancthon and Bugenhagius write: "You ask, supposing the Interim should be proposed to you, what you should answer? The language of truth is simple: answer, that you will faithfully observe the scheme of doctrine formerly promulgated by your elector, and cannot consent to change it. If he thinks he can interpret the new book in conformity with it, and chooses to make that representation to the emperor, say, that you presume not to

¹ Consil. ii. 36, 41, 54, 55, 95.

dictate to him upon the subject, but that you must yourselves preserve the old formularies." 1

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Their de-
tachment
from
worldly
views.

We find also, in the wishes and proposals of Melancthon and his friends at this time, much of that detachment from worldly and political views, which characterized the early days of the reformation. They were willing that the protestant princes should act according to their own judgment of things, and leave their divines to follow their consciences, and to take the consequences. Thus they jointly write to Maurice: "The government will consider, and determine for itself, what it can and ought to do for the protection of the churches. For ourselves, as individuals, we are prepared, God being our helper, for exile or whatever other punishment may follow." And thus to the divines of Strasburg: "To all who have asked advice of us, we have written uniformly, that we would recommend the pastors of the churches to keep their deliberations quite detached from those of the political governors, and to answer plainly and distinctly, that they will not change their doctrine, or receive the new formulary—it being our part, as divines, to detect and guard against every corruption of doctrine. But as the great number of them many are ignorant of German, French, and others, called in to consult the government, we answered as they are ignorant. Thus the pastors desire that our church should be consulted is made in the church. We are not to say that can be settled without a council. We retain our position, and are not to be moved upright the state of the church. We are not to be moved while the church is in the state of the church."

political power. It belongs not to our ministry." —To the same purport Melancthon wrote to Snepfius of Tübingen, and to Matthias Luther syndic of Nordhausen: and thus to another friend, in the year 1549: "Many exclaim that peace is to be preferred before our doubtful disputations. But, where it is evident that some doctrines are corrupted and others obscured, I will never burden my conscience by concurrence. Let others arrange the affairs of kingdoms, and of the church, as they will, or as they can, (Christ says, *My kingdom is not of this world*,) I will still speak my sentiments, though with moderation, wherever I may be.—If you may be allowed, without expressly approving the Interim, to preach the gospel as you have hitherto done, and are not required to change the administration of the Lord's supper, then your conscience is not burdened, though your rulers may sanction the book."¹

Is it any thing less than *shocking*, to find men, who were speaking, writing, acting in this manner, assailed by professed brethren, as betrayers of the truth, "vipers in the bosom of the church," and, in certain respects at least, "worse than papists?"

A private
paper.

We will close this account of the opposition made by Melancthon and his friends to the Interim, with the heads of a private memorandum which he had drawn up for his own use. Here he thus recounts the reasons urged for compliance with the imperial edict.

"1. That it is becoming to promote agreement, where the main points are granted us.

"2. That it is a duty to seek the extension

¹ Consil. 53, 58, 73, 93, 95.

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of the gospel to other nations, which will be promoted by this conciliation.

"3. That we ought not to contend for trifles.

"4. That the apostles conceded some things to the Jews. That the emperor wishes to serve the church, &c."

In opposition to these he states the heads of arguments against compliance.

"He that does not confess me shall not be confessed by me."

"If any one teach another gospel, let him be anathema.

"Flee from idolatry.

"Be not unequally yoked with unbelievers.

"What fellowship is there between God and Satan?

"If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema.

"To oppose known truth is blasphemy.

"We shall have to concur in the severities that will be used to enforce these articles. For example, if any pastor will not pray to saints, or approve masses for the dead, or carry about the consecrated wafer, he must be expelled.

"Be not partaker of other men's sins."

And, in direct answer to the four reasons for compliance stated above, he remarks on them successively as follows.

"1. 'It is becoming to promote concord'—if it be done without injury to truth, and without bringing confusion into our churches.

"2. 'It is a duty to seek the extension of the gospel'—but it must be of *the* gospel, not of error.

"3. 'The apostles yielded some things'—and therefore we must yield many things.

But it is written, *Flee from idolatry*—and from unjust persecution.

“ 4. The emperor’s professions are specious: but the aim is, to establish popery, and the worship of bread.”¹

Here we gain access into Melancthon’s study, and are permitted to trace his most secret thoughts. Thus do we see him fortifying his mind against sophistry by the plain dictates of scripture, and preparing himself “ to answer every man,” at this trying crisis.

Melancthon’s concessions.

We will now offer some illustration of that “ moderation ” of Melancthon, which exposed him to censure, and of the manner in which he limited his concessions concerning things “ indifferent.”

We have seen that he allowed the opening articles of the Interim, on the fall of man, original sin, and our recovery by Christ, to pass without reprehension. These subjects were indeed treated but slightly ; but the fault was that of defect rather than of positive error.

Episcopal jurisdiction.

On the subject of episcopal jurisdiction, he seems to have been disposed, *on principle*, to admit more than many thought could be granted consistently with the safety of the reformation :² for he ever entertained serious apprehensions from that relaxation, or dissolution, of authority in the protestant churches, which perhaps proved one means of preparing the way for that departure from the Christian verity, which has since prevailed to so fearful an extent in Germany.³ Yet his concessions were always accompanied with the stipulation, that the bishops should

¹ Consil. ii. 35.

² Vol. i. 56, 94.

³ Rose’s Sermons on the State of the protestant Churches on the Continent. 1826.

tolerate the protestants, and grant ordination to their ministers.—His willingness to acknowledge a certain supremacy in the pope, under the like limitation, will now be considered by all protestants as erroneous and dangerous in the extreme. The idea of an universal sovereign on earth over the whole church was a chimera, without the shadow of foundation in scripture, incompatible with the well-being of society in the various independent states of the world, and the parent of one of the direst tyrannies that ever cursed the earth. Melancthon and his friends felt, indeed, that many objectionable things were introduced into the Interim on the subject of the church and the power of the bishops, but, “as the language was general, and admitted of different interpretations,” they would not advise the elector to make a stand at this point.¹ They spoke to the same effect concerning “confirmation and unction,” though they expressed great offence at seeing these rites advanced to the rank of sacraments, and they protested decidedly against concurring in such modes of administering them as they style “magical consecrations.”²

Addressing Maurice at Augsburg before the Interim had passed the diet, they say: “Though it may already sufficiently appear what we admit, and what we are constrained utterly to condemn in this book, yet, that all may perceive how anxious we are for peace and agreement, we will briefly recapitulate the substance of our statements. The blessed doctrine of faith we neither may nor can change, nor will we sanction false worship in the churches. We agree to observe the ceremonies ordained pro tempore

Things
Indifferent.

¹ Consil. ii. 7, 19, 41, 57.

² Ib. 43, 44.

—the lessons, the hymns, the use of vestments and other ancient and becoming rites; as also the holidays, (or festivals,) and the regulations subservient to discipline and useful exercises." They lay it down, however, that nothing, which could be considered as "a species of worship," was ever to be introduced without the express sanction of the word of God: and on this ground they reject the various popish services which we have before seen them condemning.—Again, in their copious memorial to the same prince after the publication of the Interim: "In our churches the principal ceremonies conducive to good order are retained, as the observation of the sabbath and the customary festivals, the regular course of lessons and psalmody,¹ slightly varied. These becoming observances we will use our endeavours to perpetuate: and, if in things of *this* kind, of an *indifferent* nature, on the suggestion and grave deliberation of those to whom the government of the churches is committed, other observances should be proposed and appointed, which may conduce to a similarity of rites, and good discipline, we will readily concur in them; for we have no wish to contend on such points: *but at the same time we must guard, with the most anxious circumspection, against the distinction being lost, as it was in the preceding ages, between these unessential and indifferent things, (as they are styled,) and those which constitute the true worship of Almighty God.*"²

In other papers Melancthon endeavours to justify the course which he and his friends had adopted. It was urged against them, that,

¹ Lectiones, cantiones, &c.

² Consil. ii. 25, 48, 49, 51, 52, 74.

when changes were once admitted, it was impossible to say how far they would be carried; and that "it was scandalous to encourage their enemies by such an appearance of yielding." He replies, that they had "sufficiently defined the things in which they could concede; and that submission in such things, made for the sake of retaining the essential truth of the gospel, was more becoming than proudly to throw up their situations, to desert the churches, and to give occasion to the people to say, that by obstinacy in trifles their ministers had exposed them to the horrors of a military occupation of their country." "Which of the two," he asks, "acts the most Christian part, the hard unyielding man, who, that he may gain the praise of constancy, deserts the church in her exigency, rather than change his garment, or he who, in order that the church may be undisturbed and her devotions uninterrupted, submits to things, not indeed agreeable to his wishes, but yet not contrary to piety?—These hardy and vehement spirits," he observes, "often neglect or obstruct more essential duties, while they raise disturbances about trifles."—It was further objected, that such a submission was a surrender of Christian liberty. He answers that Christian liberty relates to far higher things: and laments that men set a value on the unrestrained gratification of their own wills, which savoured little of Christian humility. "The kingdom of God," he says, "consists in true faith, prayer, hope, love, patience, purity, righteousness; and without these inward graces, external liberty in meats, and vestments, and other things of that kind, is not Christian liberty, but a new kind of civil polity, only more agreeable to the people, because it lays them under

fewer restraints. We ought the more meekly to bear a degree of servitude, provided it involve nothing contrary to piety, because we have certainly abused the plea of liberty."—Some applied to the question S. Paul's words, "If I build again that which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor." But S. Paul, he observes, "was unquestionably right in all that he had done as an apostle: we, with all our infirmities, and amid the difficulties of the new situation in which we were placed, might not always be right. Hence the practice varies in different places; and pious rulers and pastors have desired to see greater uniformity, and have regretted the abolition of useful observances." "Let us," he says, "confess that we are men, and that we may have said and done some things without sufficient circumspection. And, if there are instances of this kind, let us not be unwilling to correct our errors: and, as discord has already deeply injured us, let us put a charitable construction on each others' conduct, consult for the common tranquillity, and, as far as possible, soothe the sorrows of the afflicted church."¹

¹ Letter to Francfort on the Oder, Jan. 20, 1549. Compare it, 81–86, or Epist. i. 82. I do not any where distinctly trace in Melancthon's vindication of himself, and answers to his opponents, the principle which Thuanus, F. Paul, and Melchior Adam concur in ascribing to Flacius, and which is, I presume, the fundamental principle of modern dissent, namely, that things prescribed by authority become, as prescribed, unlawful, however indifferent or even laudable in themselves. I can understand the man who says, 'I think my allegiance to Christ, the great head of the church, obliges me to refuse compliance with all human prescriptions in religious matters,' and can respect his conscientiousness though I think him mistaken: but, if there were who, without advancing any such principle, adopt violent language of Flacius, "Let us see all the sin

But his letter to the pastors of Hamburg, who, he observes, were further removed from the scene of danger, and on that account perhaps the more readily censured his concessions, will give us the best view of the case—of the situation of the Saxon churches, of the nature of the concessions made, and of the Christian meekness with which Melancthon defended his own conduct respecting them. We shall therefore conclude our present subject by laying a considerable part of it before the reader. It is dated April 16, 1549, and signed jointly by Bugenhagen and Melancthon.

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Melancthon's
Letter to
Hamburg.

“Reverend and dear friends—We feel not at all hurt by your lovingly admonishing and even reproving us; for these are necessary duties of friendship, especially in the church of Christ. We only desire, that, in forming a judgment becoming your prudence, your character, and your kindness for us, you would take a candid

deserted, and terrify our rulers with the dread of insurrection, rather than comply in the least particular;” with such men I could cherish no sympathy, nor even comprehend the principles on which they professed to act.

We may here add, that, after considering the care with which Melancthon restricted his compliance to things really indifferent in themselves, there seems little propriety in his adversaries affecting the name of “genuine Lutherans,” on the ground of their opposition to him in this particular: for he would seem to have been acting only on Luther’s constant principle, that, provided sound doctrine and pure worship were allowed, we were not to contend about minor points.—See vol. i. 56, 232, 494, &c.

I am happy to find the conclusions to which I have come concerning the conduct of Melancthon and Plattenberg, in the adiaphoristic controversy, fully confirmed by Dr. Cox, in his life of Melancthon, c. xi. The arguments, he says, “will prove amply sufficient to the defence” of Melancthon. This judgment, from such a question by a respectable and learned dissenting minister, carries great weight with it.

view of our conduct, and not hastily condemn old friends, who for more than twenty years have sustained great labours and conflicts in the sacred cause of religion.

“First, allow us to inform you, that, through the goodness of God, the same doctrine is still heard in our churches and schools as we have for so many years professed in common with you. And, as we are assured that this doctrine is the eternal truth of God, and the constant doctrine of his real church, it is our determination never in any point to change it. For this very object of preserving our doctrine and worship unaltered, we have had sharp conflicts to maintain, during the present year, with persons of great talents, and high consideration in our country. These, we trust, are no ambiguous testimonies of our steadfastness, seeing we incur, for the sake of our principles, odium and danger with which they are little acquainted, who, living at ease, and surrounded with their admirers, heap reproaches upon us. We wish such persons could be present at our discussions, and hear the subtle arguments which we have to encounter.¹

“The same books are promulgated among us as before the war: nor are other rites observed in our churches than you yourselves have witnessed. In these, though there is not an entire uniformity, more being used in some places and fewer in others, yet is there no such

¹ In a letter to a private friend he remarks somewhat more sharply on these “scornful reproofs of them that are at ease:” “*Usitatum est otiosis maledicere presertim miseris.*” Consil. ii. 97. To Camerarius also he writes more at length on the clear peremptory judgment which bystanders could pronounce, on what ought to be the conduct of those who bore the burnt of the fray. Epist. iv. 231.

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ference as to cause any contention among us. You agree with us, that religious assemblies must be held, decent rites used in them, and some sort of discipline observed: in which things, if nothing be introduced contrary to any commandment of God, the particulars are not worth contending about. This you admit: but you are afraid of danger lurking under the term, *things indifferent*. Our sentiments are the same as your own, when you look to this point with an eye of jealousy; and we are sensible that many wish to give things a turn towards the whole popish polity: but yet, when, occupied in an arduous conflict for essentials, we abstain from contending about things indifferent, we think that good and wise men should put a favourable construction on our conduct. We do not apply the term *indifferent* to magical consecrations, to the worship of images, to the carrying about of the host, and other things of that kind: these we utterly condemn, both with our tongues and our pens. We do not even extend the name to silly trifling ceremonies, such as watchings at the graves of the deceased.¹ Persons who make such charges against us do us injustice, and indulge their own wrong tempers. But there are many things, distinct from these, observed by the church from the earliest ages, and conducive to good order, or even to edification, such as festivals, a course of lessons, religious assemblies, examination and absolution before the sacrament, and in order to confirmation, observances connected with public penance² and with ordination, solemn vows and prayers at marriages, and decent proces-

¹ Excubias ad sepulchrum.

² The practice of the protestant church is under this head as described, Consil. ii. 55-6.

sions and addresses at funerals. When things of this sort were in use among us, having been retained for beneficial purposes, how could we pretend to say that we would admit nothing of an *indifferent* nature—nothing that was established by custom? Should we, in the spirit of party zeal and hatred, reject the usages of our adversaries, even when they were such as the church of God has ever adopted, even from the primitive times? . . . We know that your sentiments are remote from this.

“But your censure of us relates not to this becoming conformity of our church to the ancients, but rather to certain foolish rites, revived by some persons in power, with a view to the ultimate restoration of all the papal abuses. Here we are blamed for not offering a more determined resistance, and for even advising the pastors, in some instances, not to abandon their churches on account of these impositions.—Take the following instance: In the territories of the marquis Albert of Brandenburg, the court at first required that the pastors should receive and conform to the whole of the Interim. To this the nobles, the citizens, and the pastors, with a pious union of counsel, respectfully but firmly refused their concurrence. The court then adopted another course, and proposed articles which made no change either in doctrine or in the public prayers, but only imposed additional rites, and those of a kind which might be borne. Such persons as would not submit to this regulation were ordered to quit the country: and, when many pastors chose the latter alternative, the church entreated that they might not be deserters. Now what advice was to be given in this case? Some answer, That the court

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have been overawed with the threats of insurrection, and thus deterred from making any changes. But many reasons induced us not to give such advice. Our enemies, who will not allow us to prescribe laws, might only have been provoked to harsher measures; they might have called in the emperor's armies, alleging that such a tone of defiance sounded the trumpet of war throughout the country. Nor could we be willing to see the poor people deprived of their pastors, as has been the case in Suabia, where many of the churches are left entirely destitute, or wolves preside in them, and introduce impious doctrine and false worship. If in such circumstances you still disapprove the advice we have given, yet regard us with forbearance, and do not condemn men who teach the same gospel with yourselves, are placed nearer the scene of danger than you are, and, could, in a personal interview, assign to you many reasons in justification of the course they pursue.

"It would require more space than a letter affords to explain what has conduced to arm our enemies against us, and to give confidence to their attacks: but we may observe, that our discords, and the want of uniformity in our churches, have furnished our rulers with a pretext for proposing new regulations.

"To shew therefore that we are not moved by the mere desire of liberty, or by the love of novelty, or by hatred for our opponents, we contend for points of importance, with which the better class even of our enemies cannot shut their eyes against the truth. And this we think a more useful than to quarrel about a surplice,¹ and

¹ Here simply vestitus, in other places linea.

casion to men to say, that we oppose our rulers, raise discords, and expose our country to the ravages of foreign troops, by our folly and obstinacy. For occasioning such evils as these, we must have no light causes to assign. We congratulate you who are placed in different circumstances. But the church has every where and at all times had some degree of bondage, more gentle or more galling, to bear ; and you should endeavour to alleviate the severity of that to which we are subjected, and not increase it by condemning us, while we hold fast what is fundamental.

“ Let us therefore preserve harmony and good will amongst ourselves, lest the spirit of prayer be injured in us and among the people ; and lest lamentable and mischievous disputes arise on unessential points ; such as formerly divided the church concerning the proper time of observing Easter. Let those who enjoy more liberty give thanks to God for it, and use it piously to set forth his truth ; and let them take care not to relax the reins of discipline. Let such of us as are under bondage acknowledge that we are chastened of the Lord, and never suffer his genuine worship to be corrupted—according to that which is written, *Though all this be come upon us, yet have we not forgotten thee.* We would not have the churches disturbed : . . . but, when new burdens are imposed, we think it should be seriously considered whether they can be borne, or whether the people must be left a prey to wolves—for we would no more have ceremonies admitted which are contrary to piety than you would.

“ We trust our present answer may satisfy you : and our desire is that our harmony may be uninterrupted, and the union of our souls in

SMULKALDIC WAR TO THE INTERIM.

be eternal—as the Son of God, when lying upon his sufferings, prayed that the will of all his disciples might be one in God. well!”¹

**A. D.
1549.**

In addition to the explicit statement of the writer's sentiments which this letter conveys, it contains some interesting notices concerning the situation of the churches with which he was connected. It appears that up to the date of the letter, when the Interim had been in force nearly a year, no material changes had taken place in the Saxon churches. The same doctrines, it is affirmed, were preached, and the same ordinances administered in the same manner. Others of Melancthon's letters and works carry down the like information to a later period, and extend it to other places.² It appears, that within this period the emperor began to relax in his zeal for his new system of doctrine. “He wished,” says Camera-
rarius, “to have it acknowledged, but he daily grew more and more connived at the failure of conformity to it, if only his authority were not impeached.”³ We may hence infer, that less change was effected in the Lutheran church by promulgation of the Interim than is sometimes apprehended.

**State of the
Lutheran
Churches.**

But with the various documents before him, which have now been reviewed, the reader will be enabled to form some judgment of the fairness of the treatment which Melancthon has been treated by Mosheim and his translator Maclaine, with reference to his conduct at this period. “His mild temper,” says the former, “was soft and flexible; his love of peace, almost exces-

**Misrepresentations
of Mosheim
and Mac-
laine.**

Consil. ii. 88—92. or Epist. i. 79.

Ib. 74, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99.

In Vit. Mel. § 81, anno 1548. Mel. Consil. ii. 169.

sive ; and *his apprehensions of the displeasure and resentment of men in power were such betrayed a pusillanimous spirit* His sentiments on some points of no inconsiderable moment were entirely different from those of Luther The ideas of the latter concerning *faith* as the *only* cause of salvation, concerning the necessity of *good works* to our final happiness" &c. were among those on which Melancthon differed from him. Again : Though Melancthon "did not entirely conceal his sentiments during the life of Luther, he delivered them, nevertheless, with great circumspection and modesty, yielding always to the authority of his colleague, for whom he had a sincere friendship, and of whom also he stood in awe. But no sooner were the eyes of Luther closed than he inculcated, with the greatest plainness and freedom, what he had before only hinted with timorousness and caution."—Some additional points referred to will hereafter be noticed, but those which we have already considered are expressly included. And accordingly the author adds, in speaking of "the incredible bitterness and fury" with which "the doctors of Wittemberg and Leipsic," were attacked by "the defenders of the primitive doctrines of Lutheranism, with Flacius at the head," that "*by the counsel and influence of Melancthon every thing relating to the Interim had been conducted. ! !*"¹—Yet further : "In the class of matters indifferent, this great man and his associates placed many things which had appeared of the highest importance to Luther . . . For he regarded as such *the doctri*

¹ I presume that Dr. Mosheim may mean the Saxon regulation of religion, which was sometimes called "the Leipzig Interim : " but what reader will so understand him ?

justification by faith alone ; the necessity of works to eternal salvation ; the number of sacraments," &c. All this untruth (although not intentional untruth,) Dr. Maclaine attempts to confirm and strengthen in his notes. "things indifferent," he says, "Melancthon understood particularly the rites and ceremonies of *the popish worship*, which, superfluous as they were, that reformer, yielding to the softness and flexibility of his natural temper, treated with a singular and excessive indulgence upon this occasion." And again : "Melancthon can scarcely, if at all, be justified in placing in the class of things indifferent, the ceremonies relating to *faith and good works*," &c.¹ All this is really intolerable. What can even the most upright of men hope for, when Melancthon, in spite of his repeated and most explicit declarations, is thus represented by his assiduous friends? "Cease ye from man," and, "accept not your reward from him," are lessons which may quiet a sincere Christian's mind, as long as he himself is concerned ; but to have all attempts to maintain the truth, for the benefit of others, thus falsely represented, and to be little less than quoted as an authority for errors which he has risked his life in opposing ; this is an example which might tempt us to find a refuge in silence and inactivity. But we must resist the temptation, go resolutely forward, and say, "My work is with the Lord, my judgment with my God."

A. D.
1549.

Mosheim, iii. 374. iv. 35—38. Even Dr. Cox, misled by Mosheim, is induced to say, "He lived that Luther carried his doctrine, *reposed* on by faith only, to such an extent as to *transcend* the force and obligation of good works, so that a required explanation." Life of Mel. p.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERIM TO THE PEACE OF RELIGION.

Magdeburg
holds out
against the
emperor.

ONLY four cities of note now held out against the authority of the emperor. These were Magdeburg, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck; the first relying on its strength, and the others encouraged by their proximity to the protestant kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden. The resistance of Magdeburg, standing connected with events which changed the whole face of affairs in Germany, demands our particular notice, though for the details we must still refer to the secular historians.¹ The ban of proscription had been some time before published against the city, in the same irregular manner as against the elector of Saxony and the landgrave: but, when it added to its other offences that of resolutely refusing the Interim, Charles further proclaimed it a prey to any one who could make himself master of it.² Though the citizens in consequence suffered many calamities, they bore them with an undaunted spirit, and met the emperor's proclamations with the most vigorous manifestoes, justifying their conduct, declaring that they contended only for retaining their ancient liberties and the unmolested exercise of their religion, and that

¹ Robertson, book x.

² Sleid. 434. 436. 479.

other things they were ready to yield the dutiful submission to the emperor's authority.¹ At length, in the diet held at Augs- in the year 1550, after Charles's return the Low Countries, it was resolved to march an army against the place, and to reduce it in form; and, on the recommendation of the diet, the conduct of the war was, with the emperor's full approbation, committed to Maurice of Saxony. Maurice's undertaking in this service (perhaps procuring his own appointment to it,) was another stroke of that artful ambitious prince's policy. By successive measures calculated to regain the confidence of the protestants, which he had forfeited in the Smalkaldic war, he had much to risk the emperor's favour, and to overcome his jealousy: but now, by his apparent success against the citizens of Magdeburg, whose courage and resolution had gained them the general admiration of the protestant party, he had removed every suspicion, and inspired the emperor with confidence, while he at the same time took a most important step towards the execution of the mighty schemes which he was carrying on.

A. D.
1550.

Maurice
appointed
to besiege
it.

Charles's late successes, not only the recovery of the liberties of Germany were laid at his feet, and he had but to advance a little farther, in order to make himself and his successors as absolute in that country as he had been in Spain.² This could not but be most alarming and alarming to the princes of the empire, and to none more so than Maurice, who had become the most powerful among them, and, as such, the most impatient of a state of

Situation of
the empire.

ibid. 485, 486, 496, 501.

² Robertson iv. 304, 307.

entire dependency on a superior. He appeared also to have been sincerely attached to the protestant religion; and he was personally irritated by the cruel imprisonment of the landgrave, his father-in-law, who by his persuasions had put himself into the emperor's hands. All these motives conspired to make him seek the overthrow of that despotic power, which he had so essentially contributed to raise. The conduct of the siege of Magdeburg not only blinded the emperor to his designs, but gave him the command of a powerful army, which he made it his business to keep together till his plan were ripe for execution. With this view though he made a shew of vigour, he allowed the siege to be protracted through a whole year and at the close of it granted the besieged such terms, as both secured their religion, and so much attached them to him as to induce them to elect him their burgrave: and all this he managed so dexterously as to avoid exciting any distrust in the breast of the emperor.¹

Projected
restoration
of the
Council of
Trent.

But, before we proceed to the development of Maurice's designs, we must take some notice of the transactions which took place with reference to the council of Trent.

1550.
Feb. 7.

In consequence of the death of Paul III, and the succession of cardinal di Monte, under the name of Julius III, to the papal chair, the emperor had now a better prospect of succeeding in his wishes with respect to the restoration of the council.² A principal object therefore pro

¹ Sleid. 503, 514, 528, 529. Robertson, iv. 10—13, 137—42.

² Sleid. 487—493. A sad character is here given of both these pontiffs. Also a curious account of the conclave, and the modes of proceeding in the election of a pope, 489, 490. Cardinal Pole had a flattering prospect of being chosen :

A. D.
1550.

posed in the diet opened at Augsburg, July 26, 1550, (which was again overawed by the presence of the imperial troops,) was to procure from its members an explicit acknowledgment of the council, with an engagement to obey its decrees ; and, in the mean time, more effectually to provide for the observance of the Interim. But here Maurice acted a part which was to gain him credit with the protestants. He boldly avowed by his deputies, that he would not acknowledge the council unless all points previously decided were reviewed ; unless the protestant divines were both fully heard, and allowed to vote in the assembly ; and unless the pope renounced his pretensions to preside in it, engaged to submit himself to its decrees, and absolved the bishops from the oath by which they were bound to him, that they might speak and vote with freedom. Yet, in some way not sufficiently explained, he contrived so to represent this daring proceeding, which alone gave any courage and confidence to the protestants, as to create no distrust in the emperor's mind. His protest, however, was not allowed to be entered on the journals ; and in the end the diet concluded with a recess, in which the affairs of religion were referred to the council, and all parties were required to send their deputies thither—the emperor engaging to give his safe-conduct to such as demanded it.¹

1551.
Feb. 13.

With respect to the Interim, fresh proof was afforded in this diet how much all that had been done had failed of procuring compliance with it. The deputies of the absent electors

Failure of
the Interim.

¹ The vacancy of the papal throne failed because it was so long that of Lutheranism. 44. H. P. 2. 1. 1.

² See also 5. H. P. 2. 1. 1. 2.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE

expressly represented to the emperor, that had been found impossible to enforce any observance of it: that the “inveterate continuance” of men in opposite habits had defeated the attempts made for the purpose; that in schools the youth had been trained up in other principles; that the people were convinced that the imperial ordinance was in many points pugnant to the word of God; that the religion they had received “could not be soon plucked up from their minds;” and that “instruction was necessary to bring them over by degrees.” Indeed so irresistible was the evidence to that effect, that the emperor himself, in the record of the diet, acknowledged that it had been “impossible to overcome the difficulties” which presented themselves.¹ Even in Augsburg itself and other parts of Suabia, notwithstanding the violence which had been used, and though that circle had been for five years occupied by the Spanish troops, the religious object would seem to have utterly failed: for, in the month of August 1551, the divines and schoolmasters of the city were suddenly brought before the emperor’s ministers, and interrogated respecting their non-compliance with the Interim; and, on their still refusing to conform to it, were ordered to quit the place within three days; never more to preach or teach within the limits of the empire; and neither before nor after their removal to communicate by word or in writing, even to their nearest friends, on account of their departure. And the same course was pursued at Memmingen and in other places.²

¹ Sleid. 503. F. Paul, 287, 291.

² Sleid. 516, 517, 528. Thuan. i. 270. Camerar. Mel. § 91. This was three years after Melancthon

BRIN TO THE PEACE OF RELIGION.

council, according to the summons issued pope, met at Trent, May 1, 1551: but not proceed to business till the first of September following.¹ Previously to its assembling, Melancthon had been employed by the emperor to draw up a confession of faith to be presented to the fathers: and Brentius, now minister of Stutgard, performed a similar work for Christopher, who had a few months succeeded his father Ulric in the dutchy of Württemberg.² The formulary prepared by Melancthon passed under the name of the Confession of Augsburg. The work of Brentius were approved by the ministers of the two provinces, and also by the city of Strasburg,—the only one of the German cities which took active measures to provide for the present crisis. It was regretted by Melancthon, George of Anhalt, and other Protestant persons, and appears to be so by Melancthon (who was himself one of the deputies sent from Strasburg to the council,) that the German princes did not act more together on this occasion, by agreeing on a common confession, and sending common representatives to Trent: which would have better attested their unanimity, and given more weight to their proceedings:

A. D.
1551.

The Council
of Trent re-
assembled.

1550.
Nov.

“four hundred ministers expelled in Suabia and Pomerania.” The clergy and schoolmasters were brought from the surrounding country places to Augsburg, and there, at least, were not suffered to revisit their homes; they went into banishment. On this occasion Granvelle, bishop of Arras, the emperor’s chief minister, on one of his requests requesting that he might be permitted to return to his wife, whose confinement was daily expected, turned in company, and brutally observed, “He calls *her* his strumpet.”—The liberality of John Frederic, duke of Saxony, to these exiles is praised.

¹ Sleid. 503, 513.

² Ib. 502.

CHAP
II

TREATMENT
OF THE
PROTESTANTS.

but they were overruled; and they likewise could not but feel that nothing was to be hoped for from their appearing in the council!¹

All these preparations, as might have been expected, were of no avail. The ambassadors indeed of Maurice and of the duke of Würtemberg, and the deputies of Strasburg and some other cities associated with it, repaired to Trent, and acted there a firm and manly part: but for the divines no such safe-conduct, as the protestant princes, warned by the case of John Huss, demanded from the council itself,² could ever be obtained. The fathers, while they pretended to grant it, constantly limited it by the introduction of the words, "So far as they were empowered," or, "So far as belonged to them to grant it"—which sufficiently indicated, as Father Paul observes,

¹ Sleid. 515. Cam. in vit. Mel. § 90. Mel. Epist. ii. 243, 245. About this time the elector of Brandenburg sent ambassadors to the council, aiming, it is to be presumed, to further the object which he had in view with respect to his son. They made in their master's name high professions of duty and reverence for the council, "but without declaring what was his opinion in point of religion." The fathers answered by their speaker, that they "heard with great content the ambassadors' discourse, especially in that part where their prince submitted himself to the council, and promised to observe its decrees." This answer, says F. Paul, excited much astonishment, as it "claimed ten thousand where the bargain was but for ten"—the elector having really promised no such thing as was assumed. But it was pleaded, that "the council regarded not what was, but what *should* have been said—as holy church, yielding to the infirmities of her children, maketh shew to believe that they have done their duty.—A fair gentle means this," remarks our author, "to make men speak that in silence which they will not in words." F. Paul, 322. Courayer, i. 552. Sleid. 526.

² "Alleging that in the council of Constance it was decreed and acted upon, that a council is not bound by the safe-conduct of any one whatever." F. Paul. 307.

A. D.
1552.

that they were "leaving a gate open to the
e," and devising means to excuse them-
res, should it be thought expedient to violate
ir guarantee.¹ Brentius and some other
ines from Würtemberg and Strasburg ven-
ed to Trent without it; but they could
er procure a hearing: and the principal
ste, Crescentio, expressed to the emperor's
bassador violent indignation at the idea
their being allowed to present a confession
the assembly. Melancthon likewise, by
urice's command, proceeded on his way as
as Nuremberg, there to await further orders.
but in the mean time Maurice's designs were
tured, and his determination was to adopt
asures very different from that of sending
ines to carry on useless discussions with the
ghty representatives of the Roman catholic
rch.²

Maurice's
designs
matured.

by a tissue of the most consummate artifice
l duplicity, Maurice, though but a young
n, had, for nearly two years, so completely
osed upon Charles, the most practised and
y politician of his age, as to dissipate every
picion that might have arisen in his mind,
l to inspire him to the last with the most
ire confidence; while he actually formed
gues with several German princes, collected
ops and kept them ready on the instant to
y his summons, and even entered into an
ctive alliance with the king of France, for
subversion of all that overgrown power
ich Charles had established in Germany
e emperor, who at this time laboured un
attack of the gout, was reposing at Inspr

Ib. 321—324.

Steid. 516, 526, 528—531, 537, 539—541, 54

Paul. 334, 338-9, 341—350, 352-3.

1552.
March.
He makes
war on the
Emperor.

within three days journey of Trent, watching the proceedings of the council there, and superintending the progress of a petty war in which he was engaged in Italy ; while, with scarcely sufficient troops about him to form his guard, he daily expected a friendly visit from Maurice. Instead of paying him this visit, the latter suddenly sounded the trumpet of war ; rushed with a well-appointed army from Thuringia ; seized upon Augsburg, from which the imperial garrison fled before him ; took by storm the castle of Ehrenberg which commanded the passes of the mountains ; and, but for a sudden mutiny among a part of his troops, would have captured the emperor at Inspruck almost before he was aware of his danger. Charles heard of his approach only late in the evening, and, though unable to bear the motion of any other vehicle than a litter, he was obliged to set out immediately by torch-light, and in the midst of a heavy rain, and to be carried across the mountains to hide himself in the fastnesses of Carinthia ; while Maurice arriving a few hours after, and finding his prey escaped, abandoned the baggage of the emperor and his ministers to be plundered by his soldiers. Thus taken unprepared by a foe who would not allow himself for a moment to be trifled with, to whose enterprise almost all Germany wished well, and who was powerfully seconded by the military operations of the French king in another quarter, Charles, now destitute of all hope of again forming such a confederation as he had brought to act for the overthrow of the Smalkaldic league, was compelled to have recourse to negociation, and in fact to surrender all the great designs which he had so long been maturing, and had

A. D.
1552.

ned to have successfully carried into effect
inst the liberties, both civil and religious,
Germany. The particulars of what followed
it be sought elsewhere. Suffice it for us to
that Maurice, when he first took up arms,
avowed three objects as those which he
ed to accomplish, namely to secure the
stant religion—to maintain the ancient
; and constitution of the empire—and to
ure the liberation of the landgrave of Hesse.
the first he roused all the favourers of the
rmation to support him ; by the second he
rested all the friends of liberty in his cause ;
by the last he engaged on his side all the
pathy which had been universally excited
he landgrave's unhappy situation, and all
indignation raised against the base injustice
cruelty by which he had been betrayed
that situation, and for five years detained
t, after he had fulfilled every condition
cribed, and notwithstanding every interces-
that could be made in his behalf.¹ And
these objects Maurice ultimately secured.
the treaty of Passau, concluded August 2,
2, under the mediation of Ferdinand, the
eror's brother, it was agreed, That on or
re the twelfth of that month the landgrave
uld be set at liberty, and conveyed in safety
his own dominions ; that within six months
et should be held to deliberate on the best
ns of terminating the existing religious
ensions, and that in the mean time no
estation whatever should be offered to those
adhered to the Confession of Augsburg ;
, if the diet, thus to be held, should not be
to effect an amicable adjustment of the

Treaty
of Passau.

¹ Robertson.

religious disputes, the stipulations of the present treaty in behalf of the protestants should continue in full force for ever; and that the encroachments complained of, on the constitution and liberties of the empire, should also be referred to the approaching diet.¹

Its effects.

Thus was laid the basis of the religious liberties of Germany; thus was the fabric of absolute power, of which Charles imagined himself to be laying the top stone, subverted at a stroke; and thus was the protestant church, which had been brought to the verge of destruction, raised again, and placed in safety and all this, under the controlling influence of divine providence, by the hands of the same man who had been the chief instrument of apparently destroying what he now restored, and establishing what he now demolished. It is remarkable also that the king of France, a zealous Romanist and a persecutor of the protestants in his own dominions, should have borne a large share in giving permanence and stability to protestantism within the empire; and that a Roman catholic bishop² should have been the negociator of the league between him and Maurice, which proved so fatal to the Romish church. "So wonderfully," observes Dr. Robertson—thus giving utterance to a sentiment which it would seem the grossest insensibility not to form on such an occasion—"So wonderfully doth the wisdom of God superintend and regulate the capriciousness of man."

¹ Sleidan b. xxiv. Robertson book x. It is remarkable that neither Sleidan (p. 572,) nor Melancthon, (Epist. i. 539,) in reciting the substance of this treaty, mentions the last article but one—the most important of all. It seems however, to have been evidently included and acted upon; and Robertson (iv. 92.) gives it without hesitation referring to *Recueil des Traitez*, ii. 261, as his authority.

² John de Fienne, bishop of Bayonne.

of human passions, and render them subservient towards the accomplishment of his purposes." ¹

A. D.
1552.

Maurice in the several towns which opened their gates to him in his march, and in all places to which his power even for a time extended, reinstated the magistrates whom the emperor had deposed, and restored the protestant ministers and schoolmasters whom he had ejected. In particular, he did this at Augsburg; and, though the emperor afterwards reversed his other arrangements in that city, he suffered all the ministers except three to remain, to the great joy of the citizens. ²

Another effect of Maurice's expedition was a second dispersion of the council of Trent. No sooner did the fathers hear of the capture of Augsburg, than many of them took their departure, and the rest, assembling on the twenty-eighth of April, prorogued the council for two years. Such bodies however, when once separated, are not easily reassembled, and ten years elapsed before the council met again, under the pontificate of Pius IV. ³

Second
dispersion
of the
council
of Trent.

But the work of Maurice was well nigh finished, when he had accomplished this unlooked-for revolution in Germany. In less than a year after the treaty of Passau, he fell in battle against one of his associates in his late enterprisc. Albert marquis of Brandenburg, ⁴

Death
of Maurice.

¹ Robertson iv. 93. ² Sleid. 560, 573. Rob. iv. 66, 81.

³ Sleid. 547-8. F. Paul. 353-4.

⁴ A supporter of protestant principles, but not to be confounded (as he is in Robertson's index,) with his uncle of the same name, who was master of the Teutonic knights, or, as he is often called master of Prussia. The uncle is noticed by Milner, v. 177 (757): the distinctive title of the nephew was, marquis of Brandenburg-Culmbach. Robertson calls it Anspach, iii. 366, and Culmbach, iv. 64. The title derived from Culmbach appears subsequently to have given place to that from Bayreuth.

who had throughout acted in a very disorderly manner, was notwithstanding allowed to be included in the treaty, provided he on his part acceded to it. But he declined to do so, and chose rather to carry on a lawless and predatory warfare, in which he inflicted great calamities on many of the German states, and left it all in uncertainty which would be the next object of his attack. He was in consequence condemned by the imperial chamber, and deputed Maurice, with the aid of some other princes, to put him down by force. They met in battle at Sieverhausen, in the duchy of Lunenburg, June 9, 1553, where Albert was defeated with great loss, but Maurice received a wound from a pistol-shot, of which he died two days after. This extraordinary man, who had, by his great talents and unrivalled abilities, wrought changes, apparently so disproportionate to the power which he originally possessed, was not completed the thirty-second year of his age. It has been with some justice remarked, "the ends which he had in view," in the critical junctures of his life, "seem to have been more attended to than the means by which he attained them; and he was now as universally extolled for his zeal and public spirit, as he had lately been condemned for his indifference and interested policy."¹ Traces of this want of judgment concerning him I have found everywhere in the writings of wise and good men,² who shared the benefit of his later services: but there is a mode of judging against which it behoves us sedulously to guard; and I fear we are not pronouncing, that, however the talents of Maurice may command our admiration, and the f

¹ Robertson.² Melancthon, Camerarius, &c.

CHAP.
XI.Ecclesiasti-
cal reserva-
tion.

The question which created the most difficulty and debate related to the course to be adopted in the case of ecclesiastics, in future, renouncing the Romish for the protestant faith. The dignitaries of the Roman catholic church, it was agreed, were to exercise no jurisdiction in protestant states ; and the ecclesiastical benefices and revenues, which were in protestant hands before the treaty of Passau, were still to remain so ;¹ but, if a Roman catholic in possession of a dignity or benefice became protestant, was he to forfeit his preferment, or to be allowed to retain it ? Considering the eagerness with which this point was contested on both sides, it appears surprising that no compromise was attempted. It was expressly allowed to the supreme civil power, in each state, to establish that form of doctrine and worship which it might prefer :² would it not therefore have been natural, that, where the establishment was protestant, an ecclesiastic becoming Roman catholic should resign his preferment, as well as that, under a Roman catholic establishment, one should do so who became protestant ? Ecclesiastial dignities re-

to the year 1554 ; and the former in one place to the month of March, and in another to May. It seems to have lasted, perhaps by adjournment, for a considerable time : and thus it might be begun in 1554, and not terminated till the next year.—But whatever were the precise date, the fact itself of such a meeting and engagement is sufficiently important to be recorded. See Camer. Vit. Mel. § 98. Melanc. Consil. ii. 188. Epist. vi. p. 201.

¹ Robertson, iv. 182.

² So Robertson states, referring to Sleidan, F. Paul, and Pallavicini. In the two former, however, I found it difficult to trace this permission : but subsequently in Sleidan, 630, the fact is explicitly stated by Ferdinand, in opposition to the demands for reformation advanced by his subjects, which will be noticed in due time.

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stricted to Romanist clergymen, under a protestant establishment, appear to present an unintelligible anomaly. Yet I find no arrangement, of the kind here suggested, proposed or adverted to in the discussions which took place, or in the remarks of the writers, whether modern or more ancient, who have recorded them. Each side simply contended either for or against the reformed Romanist retaining the situation, which he had held previously¹ to his change of sentiments.—In the end the Romish party prevailed, and the protestants were constrained to acquiesce in the regulation called the *ecclesiastical reservation*, by which it was enacted, that the churchman embracing protestant principles should forfeit his preferment, but should be subjected to no further molestation. Under the operation of this rule, another archbishop of Cologne, Gebhard Truchses,² before the close of the century, was ejected from his dignities and emoluments : but few ecclesiastics have since been found willing to subject themselves to the same risk ; and this article in the peace of religion has proved, as it was foreseen by both parties that it probably would do, the great barrier against the extension of the reformation in Germany.³

Thus, after a long-protracted struggle, was a settlement effected, of that kind which alone can be denominated just and reasonable, or which has ever availed to heal such differences. But mutual toleration, or religious liberty, was here introduced more from the necessity of the case, than upon any enlarged and enlightened principle ; as the exclusion from this benefit of every other denomination, separate from the

Religious
liberty.

¹ Sleid. 620—626. F. Paul. 368-9.

² Mosheim, iv. 10. Du Pin. vii. 411.

³ Robertson.

church of Rome, except that of the Confession of Augsburg, too fully demonstrates.¹ The great principle, that to God alone, and not to his fellow creatures, is a man accountable for his religious belief, and that, so long as he conducts himself as a peaceable subject, he is intitled to the full protection of the magistrate—a principle the very opposite of that which had been received and acted upon during the long reign of popery—was as yet scarcely discovered by here and there a scattered individual : and almost ages more elapsed before it was to any considerable extent proclaimed and admitted. That the universal church had been divinely committed to the government of one sovereign lord and dictator on earth, possessed of despotic sway over all authorities, temporal as well as spiritual, at least wherever religion was concerned ; and that the sovereign pontiff might command the services of all the princes of the earth to enforce his decisions, and to preserve uniformity of doctrine and worship throughout the visible church :² these were the maxims

¹ Religious liberty was not formally extended to the followers of Zuinglius and Calvin till nearly a century afterwards, by the treaty of Westphalia, which terminated the thirty years war, in 1648.

² A paper introduced by some of the Roman catholic party, in the course of the discussions at Augsburg, openly avowed some of the principles of their church in all their revolting deformity. “ In things pertaining to the faith no man’s conscience should be free ; but, whenever any man departs from the common consent of the church, he ought to be punished and restrained :....he is to be excommunicated, and removed from the exercise of his function, his goods are to be seized by the magistrate, and his person not endured in the empire. The fathers have ever rejected liberty of conscience, and toleration in religion, as subversive of the catholic faith....The protestants, having forsaken the communion of the church, are excluded from the kingdom of heaven, even according to their own decisions....How can

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which the Christian world had acted for centuries; and it could not be expected that either governments or individuals should speedily cast themselves of the system of persecution, which flowed from such maxims, and still retained its hold upon the mind, even after the error, the original error, on which it was founded, had been detected and renounced. They were incapable of at once tracing to its consequences the discovery which they

kingdom of heaven belong to those who reject the sacraments of the church, and despise the priesthood to which Christ has given the power of binding and loosing? If, if there are no ordained priests among them, how do they obtain remission of sins?" The authors of this venture to retort on the protestants the charge of idolatry in the eucharist. "They give the people the whole sacrament indeed, which is nothing but unconsecrated bread—the creature instead of the Creator, and thus under shew of true religion, they exercise idolatry." Sleid.

3. The daring expression, "the creature **INSTEAD OF CREATOR**," was fully borne out by the language in common use. "Many pious or superstitious individuals could hardly persuade themselves to lie down peaceably on their beds at night, unless they had **SEEN THEIR MAKER**, the phrase commonly went"—meaning, had gazed upon the host—"in the course of the preceding day." Soames, *l. Reform. i. 346*.

The pleas of "private judgment," and "liberty of conscience," have no doubt been most lawlessly abused, and so in the present day—the most incompetent persons presuming to determine rashly, dogmatically, presumptuously, without any due consideration of the judgment of the ages, and good through successive ages, the most difficult questions; and acting as if the use of liberty of conscience, to divide and separate endlessly, for the sake (one might suppose) of asserting the right and privilege of separation, which might otherwise become dormant. Yet we can no more, on these grounds, reject these essential principles, than we must renounce the use of the understanding or the tongue, because many have abused both one and the other: but we must learn in the use of all our faculties and alleges our responsibility to God, even where our fellow-creatures can least claim any control over us.

themselves had made. Hence were derived those *comparatively* few and trifling instances of persecution, with which the reformers themselves were chargeable, and which at this day many delight to blazon, as if they were equivalent to the wholesale systematic butcheries of the church of Rome, and placed her and the reformed churches on an equal footing. Those persons, who declaim with the most unsparing severity on these cases, would not, we may shrewdly guess, have been among the foremost to cast off the prejudices of the sixteenth century, had they been thrown upon that period, seeing they shew themselves so deeply involved in the prejudices of the age in which they live—an age which, forming an inordinate estimate of its own sagacity, liberality, and illumination, often treats most superciliously men of former times, with whom few among us could well bear to be compared.¹

Indignation
of the Pope,
Paul IV.

Proportioned to the degree in which the recess of the diet of Augsburg contravened, and tended to subvert those principles, which the Roman pontiffs had ever laboured to establish, was the indignation expressed against it by the

¹ It will be remembered, that even Dr. Robertson has said, “ Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the reformed church in their respective countries, *as far as they had power and opportunity*, inflicted the same punishments upon such as called in question *any* article in their creeds, which were denounced against their own followers by the church of Rome.” It is to be lamented that this respectable writer should have lent the sanction of his name to so grossly overcharged a statement, and thus have helped to countenance the flippant attempts of pretended philosophers to cast obloquy upon religion. The utter falsehood of the charge, as far as Luther is concerned, has been already exposed. (Vol. I. end of Preface.) To the small part of it which is true concerning the others, the observations above made, with many additions, apply.

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ning pope. Julius III. had died soon after diet assembled, and his immediate successor, Cellus III, (a pontiff of a very promising character,¹) having survived his elevation only forty-one days, the papal chair was now occupied by Paul IV²—a man worthy to have been immediate successor of Hildebrand.³ On giving advice of the recess of Augsburg, he gave way to the most violent transports of passion. He insisted to the imperial ambassador, that the decree should immediately be declared null and void, as an impious act, founded in sacrilegious usurpation of powers belonging to the holy see; and he threatened vengeance against both the emperor and king Ferdinand, if they did not promptly comply with his demand. In vain did the ambassador urge extreme distress to which the emperor, his father, had been reduced at Inspruck, and for which he had been compelled to form the concessions that had led to the present result. The pope answered, “that he absolved him from his oaths, yea commanded him not to observe them.”⁴ And in short, moved by this provocation, and wrought upon by the ambitious intrigues of his nephews, he instantly threw himself into the interest of the king of France, who was at war with the emperor.—But papal violence

Card. Santa Croce. Rob. iv. 188-9.

John Peter Caraffa, cardinal Theatino, the chief instigator of establishing the inquisition in Italy. Rob. iv. 120.

* He never spoke with ambassadors but he thundered in their ears, that he was above all princes; . . . that he was superior of him who had deposed kings and emperors; . . . he said publicly at his table, that he would not have any one for his companion, but (striking the ground with his foot) all subject under his feet, as it was to be, and as it shall be, will who built the church, and who had placed there the degree.” F. Paul, 370.

CHAP.
XI.Abdication
of the
Emperor.

lence had at this time become comparatively harmless.

As for Charles himself, when all his schemes for establishing political and religious despotism in Germany, and transmitting it to his posterity,¹ were dashed in pieces, in the manner that has been described, he became indifferent to the affairs of the empire generally, and in particular to the question of religion, and to the subject of the council as connected with it:² and it is not to be doubted, that the disappointment and chagrin he had suffered operated powerfully among the causes that induced him to form and execute the measure, in which scarcely any one has been found as his precursor or his follower—that of resigning his vast dominions—his hereditary ones in the close of the present year, and those which were elective in the year following, and himself retiring into private life. After this extraordinary step, he passed about two years in a state of almost monastic seclusion; and he is supposed to have accelerated his death by the severity of the discipline to which he subjected himself. In this retirement he is said to have discovered not only the vanity of all his past schemes of ambition, but the folly of the attempts, on which he had bestowed so great a portion of his time and labour, to compel men to think alike, or at least to profess the same sentiments, on the deep and mysterious subjects of religion. It is

His death.

¹ Though immediately after the diet of August, 1530, he had successfully exerted all his interest to have his brother elected king of the Romans, and his successor in the empire, yet after the war of Smalkald he spared no pains to induce Ferdinand to surrender the splendid reversion in favour of his son Philip. But he here laboured in vain.

² Robertson, iv. 117, 177. F. Paul, 358.

even asserted, that, as he drew near his end, and was more deeply impressed with the awful thought of appearing before the divine tribunal, he approximated more and more to some of the leading doctrines of Luther, particularly that of justification by faith; and it is certain that, after his decease, several of those who had been his latest confidential attendants were seized and put to death as heretics.¹—He died September 21, 1558, at the age of fifty-eight years.

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1558.

During all this period but little presents itself to gratify the taste of the spiritual mind, in quest of the interior history of the true church of Christ. Scenes of warfare and ambitious conflict, where the minds of men are kept in a state of constant excitement, and the affairs of religion are controlled by mere secular characters, in subservience to their own selfish designs, must be deplorably unfavourable to the growth of piety. "The fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace:" and we cannot be sufficiently thankful for a settled state of society. At the same time, let us take care that we do not abuse the repose and the opportunity it affords us, to become in another way "mindful of earthly things," and to seek our rest and portion here below. Still, however, we may trust, that at the period under review many pious pastors were feeding their flocks, and many humble souls were trained

State of real
religion.

¹ See Milner, v. 462 (1058-9). Contin. of Sleid. 23, 35. Camerar. Vit. Mel. 358, not. F. Paul, 390. Bayle, Art. Charles V.

up for heaven, at a distance from the din and bustle of the transactions which fill the page of history. The correspondence of Melancthon furnishes us with the most pleasing traces of this kind, that we are acquainted with, for the whole era of the present volume, as far as it relates to the Lutheran church: and from his writings we shall now proceed to lay several extracts before the reader.

Extracts
from Me-
lancthon—
on peace in
the church.
1548.

On two contending pastors at Zwickau, he pathetically urges the cultivation of harmony and mutual affection, and thus beautifully describes the effect of peace within the church, in troublous times. “Under all troubles, public and private, it is an unspeakable relief to the hearts of men to see the church where they live in a state of tranquillity. The mind of man chiefly finds repose in prayer to God, which is greatly hindered and interrupted where discord is even within view. Now, since public calamities at the present time greatly afflict numbers, it behoves every pastor to keep his church, as much as possible, like a safe harbour, in which the distressed people may take refuge, and be refreshed by communion with God.” Referring therefore to the disagreements of these persons, which had but trifling causes, and yet were of very dangerous tendency, he acknowledges that he and his friends had no authority to dictate: they assumed none: yet they ventured to express their grief at what they heard, and to entreat, that, though each thought his own cause just, they would both wave their rights for the good of the church. “Let one impose less, and the other be willing to bear more: and, if the one would not yield, let the other do it, and not think it disgraceful to be overcome.” “No victory, no triumph,” he

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observes, “is so glorious in the church, as in such contentions to sacrifice our private resentments to the common good.”—“We cannot but suppose,” he proceeds, “that you frequently meditate on the conduct of the Son of God, how he abased himself below all men, and lay prostrate and suppliant for us before his heavenly Father, and bore *his* just and awful vengeance against our sins, as if he himself had committed them. Reflecting on this abasement of the Son of God, we stand in awe, and deeply lament that you should ever contend eagerly about your personal rank and authority. Let us rather recede from our rights, as the Son of God surrendered his : and, that for the church’s sake we may bear the burdens which perhaps do not belong to us, let us not feel it a dishonour to take a lower place, when the Son of God so humbled himself. . . . We conjure you for God’s sake, who hath pronounced, *Blessed are the peace-makers*, drop your contention entirely, and preserve the peace of the church, considering in what times we live.”¹—All this is in the true spirit of S. Paul and of S. Clement, after him, to the Corinthians, and of Christianity itself.

His exhortations to various pious ministers, from the time when the Interim was first projected, to maintain their posts, and go on undismayed in their work as long as they possibly could do it, are interesting and edifying. He counsels Pfeffinger of Leipsic, and John Mathesius, in such circumstances to avoid not only political discussions, but all doubtful points of theology ; to denounce the sins both of princes and people, as the cause of the exist-

On the
duties of
ministers.¹ Epist. i. 102. Consil. ii. 74—76.

ing calamities ; to inculcate repentance, reconciliation with God, and the duty of prayer ; direct men to the true source of consolation to shew them the difference between devotional and superstitious worship, and thus to fortify their minds against the corruptions which so might introduce : to reprove those who would inflame the different parties one against another to move all to sympathise with the sufferers and to exhort persons in authority to adopt peaceable counsels. And, with respect to the event of their labours directed to such ends, he quotes the words of the Psalm, “ He that now goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.” “ I am convinced,” he elsewhere says, “ that in this world the true heavenly doctrine will ever have to maintain a conflict with errors and corruptions, and that those who uphold the cause of divine truth will be under the cross, and suffer for their principles. From the beginning of the world it has been so : and holy and enlightened men know that these things must be borne.”¹

On the difficulties of prayer.

In a paper on the question, which it appears embarrassed some persons, of offering public prayers for the emperor, while he was waging war against them, he makes some fine observations on the difficulties attending true prayer. “ First, we have to get our minds impressed with just sentiments concerning God—that he will hear prayer—and on what grounds he will hear it. And this is difficult.—Then the reverse exercise of faith is still more difficult : to draw near to God when our sins would deter us, and

¹ Ep. i. 90. iii. 105. Consil. i. 664-5, ii. 4, 29.

about the same time with the paper on
er for the emperor, he wrote one to Vitus
odorus, on the subject of ministers censur-
the faults of rulers, in which he admirably
bines faithfulness with forbearance. Their
ate faults, as men, he says, must be re-
ed in common with those of other men
y of the same ; and he recommends going
h into particulars of this kind. When
government is oppressive, if the oppres-
is of a kind that is tolerable, and not such
drive men into sin, he would have much
borne with. If it were manifestly tyran-
, it would be a just subject of open ex-
ulation for such ministers as had access
em : though even here he would have it
dered, whether the grievances were habit-
or produced by some extraordinary and
orary pressure.¹

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On censur-
ing rulers.

riting on a passage of Isaiah, he makes
ollowing remark on the interpretation of
ture : “ It is necessary in the church dili-
y to investigate and adhere to the simple,
al, grammatical sense of scripture.² We
listen to the divine word, not to corrupt
We must not *play tricks* with it, by fan-
interpretations, as many in all ages have
. The plain natural sense of scripture
s carries with it the richest and most
ble instruction.³ ”

On the
interpreta-
tion of
scripture.

onsil, i. 662.

Luther says, “ The literal meaning of scripture is
hole foundation of faith—the only thing that stands
und in distress and temptation.” This real sense and
ng is unquestionably the first thing to be sought : the
eration of the uses to which it may be fairly and legi-
ly applied follows next.

onsil. ii. 196.

CHAP.
XI.On
preaching.

Giving advice, as it would appear, to a young divine, he admirably shews, in few words, the need of learning to a preacher; the want of it in some, and the abuse of it in others; and censures the folly of aiming to catch the admiration of hearers by gaudy language. He then introduces the following description of a preacher, such as he would wish his friend to become. "On the other hand there are those who bring from home with them the (one) design, to speak what is useful and necessary, in appropriate and expressive words. They arrange their matter; they set it forth and explain it; they admonish their hearers what practical use is to be made of every thing delivered; they introduce striking quotations to impress the mind, and examples for illustration; that, from the whole, the people may know what to treasure up in their memories, and carry away with them. They add motives: they address the affections—awaken fear by the awful threatenings of God's word, and excite hope and confidence by its promises. Now they distinctly exhibit the law, and now the gospel, clearly marking the difference between them. One while they are simply expositors of scripture; another, they powerfully address the heart and conscience; rousing men's minds, not by redundant declamation, but by an appropriate solemnity of address.—Such a preacher have I known in Martin Luther."¹

¹ Elsewhere he especially commends modesty and unassuming temper in candidates for the ministry. He was pleased with a young man, who desired for a time to apply himself to the humbler modes of teaching; "for," he says, those who hastily press forward to the high office of public preachers too frequently shew that they seek popular applause. Let us encourage modesty, and inculcate upon young men moderation of mind." Ep. ii. 578.

is was written from Wittemberg, in the
 ral between the war of Smalkald and that
 ich Maurice broke the power of Charles
 nd the writer adds, "My letter is a hasty
 on in a time of sickness. I feel that I
 ially injure myself by constant speaking
 y public lectures—my strength having
 previously broken by cares and labours.
 hat else is life, than a passage through
 es to a better state? Let us only endea-
 that our labours may serve the church
 d, and make known his truth." ¹

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ese passages give us some insight into
 was going on for the edification of the
 h. Nor are we left without notices,
 shew that the reformed doctrines were
 making progress in these troublous times.
 n Frisius, abbot of Neustadt in Fran-
 is particularly mentioned as having been,
 year 1554, cited before his diocesan at
 zburg on suspicion of having embraced
 ran opinions. A list of more than forty
 ons, comprising all the points at issue
 en protestants and papists, was presented
 n, and his answers required. He gave
 explicitly, confirming his sentiments
 the scriptures and the fathers; and in
 quence suffered deprivation.²

Progress of
 the refor-
 mation.

formerly saw with pleasure the strong
 g of the public mind in favour of reform-
 in the Austrian dominions, and witnessed
 ain the manner in which it was opposed
 verborne.³ Similar scenes still present
 elves in that quarter.—In the year 1554,
 and found it necessary to issue an edict

Franconia.

Austria.

¹ Consil. ii. 153—155.

² Sleid. 603.

³ Vol. i. 180, 312—315.

commanding his subjects to make no innovation in the sacrament of the Lord's supper. The "princes, nobles, and cities, having often before petitioned on this subject, made strong representations in reply, entreating that the sacrament might be administered among the people according to Christ's institution and the practice of the primitive church. Ferdinand expressed his astonishment at their presumption yet promised further to consider their demand—which they supported by an additional memorial, speaking of what they asked as "a matter that concerned their duty to God, and the salvation of their souls."¹

1555.

Again, a few months after the peace of religion, having occasion to assemble the states of Austria, at Vienna, to provide the means of resisting the Turks, he was surprised to find their first address to him turn on the subject of religion. They observed, that for fourteen years past they had been soliciting him for relief with respect to it, but in vain; that the mean time no success had attended their efforts made against the enemy, who rather became more formidable; that this indicated the displeasure of God lying upon the country for its sins; so that, "unless God's word were received, and a reformation of manners promoted, they were likely to lose, not only their fortunes and their lives, but their eternal salvation." From time to time, they state, the object of their application had been postponed but they now entreat him to consider, "how grievous it was to persons, who most ardently desired the salvation of their souls, to be put off to an indefinite period, while in the meantime their minds were kept in anguish, and

¹ Sleid. 602.

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anxiety and doubt many thousands must
their days.—Certainly,” they say, “the
of God, which was revealed to us by
Christ our Saviour, ought to be the only
which the church should follow; and,
y thing had crept in contrary to that
ard, it ought to be rejected, to whatever
uity it might lay claim.” They implore
therefore, “by the death of Christ, by the
tion of their souls, and by that judgment
shall pass upon all men, that he would
them, seeing they were not corrupted by
sectarian principles,¹ to live in the true
pure religion, and to enjoy the benefit
e peace lately made in the diet with those
professed the Confession of Augsburg;
they might not be placed in a worse
tion than the other subjects of the empire;
uch of their ministers as taught according
e inspired word of God might be permitted
e peaceably among them; and that their
lmasters might not be subjected to banish-
or imprisonment.”

e comment which Ferdinand, in his reply,
s on the peace of religion, the basis of
a had been laid under his own mediation,
t a little curious. He tells them, that he
l not grant their petition, not for want
clination to gratify them, but because the
; itself was unlawful, inasmuch as he was
d to hear the church: that he never had
elled any persons to forsake the *true*
ion, and never would: that they were no
included in the peace of religion than the
acts of any other German prince: but
“the plain meaning of the decree was,

¹ Such as those of the anabaptists, &c.

that the people should follow the religion of their prince ; and that it granted to all princes, except the ecclesiastical ones, to choose which of the two religions they would embrace, because the people ought to be content with the choice of their prince—liberty however being granted to those, who were not satisfied with the religion thus chosen, to sell their estates, and to remove whither they pleased. “ Their duty therefore,” he tells them, “ is, to continue in the old catholic religion which he professes.” He consents however to suspend, till the next diet, the prohibition of their receiving the sacrament in both kinds, provided they observed all other laws and ceremonies of the church, without exception.—In reply, they complain heavily of having no other alternative offered them, than that of quitting the land of their forefathers, for which they had ever been ready to shed their blood ; and they conjure him, “ by all that is sacred, to grant them the inestimable treasure of God’s word.” “ If this,” say they, “ were a thing of such a nature, that your majesty only were to answer to God for it, certainly we would obey you here, as in all other things : but, seeing every man must give account for himself, and that any moment may be the last of our lives, we cannot but desire and pray, with the utmost earnestness, to have our petition granted.”—After yet further replies and rejoinders, they could obtain nothing beyond the relaxation, which has been mentioned, as to the eucharist, and that only in consequence of the necessity of Ferdinand’s affairs at the present crisis.¹

¹ Sleid. 628-632. F. Paul, 372.—We find in Melancthon’s Epistles (vi. p. 369) one addressed to N. Pfäuser, “ a faithful preacher of the gospel at Vienna,” 1557.

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Bavaria.

The subjects of Albert duke of Bavaria, also, were about this time "very troublesome" to him, by demands similar to those made upon his father-in-law, Ferdinand, by the Austrians. But they had little better success ;¹ and to this day these two countries, where the chains of religious bondage are riveted by the hand of civil despotism, remain more under the power of Romish superstition, than perhaps any others in Germany. Yet six years after the period of which we now write, the Bavarian ambassador, in the revived council of Trent, made the loudest complaints of the spread of heresy in the country which he represented, and of the scandalous lives of the Roman catholic clergy as giving occasion to it ; and he himself demanded some important changes contrary to the usages of the church of Rome.²

Poland.

The concessions made by Ferdinand and the duke of Bavaria to their subjects, small as they were, gave great offence to the pope : but his

¹ Sleid. 633. F. Paul, 372-3.

² He said, "he could not relate the wickedness of the clergy without offending the chaste ears of his auditory : . . . that there were not more than three or four in a hundred who were not concubinaries, or secretly or openly married : and that the catholics in Germany did prefer a chaste marriage before an unchaste celibacy." He demanded therefore a reformation of the clergy, the allowance of marriage to them, the sacrament in both kinds, &c. "The Frenchmen present," says F. Paul, "hearing this oration, were well pleased, because they now stood not alone in freely admonishing the prelates of what was fit to be told them : but, hearing the answer, which was courteous to the Bavarian, though it had been sharp to them, they grew jealous. The difference was, that, though the former did keenly bite the clergy in general, yet he spake of the fathers with much reverence ; whereas the oration of the former (the Frenchmen) was especially directed to reprehend those that heard it.—But they were both used alike, being heard with the ears only." F. Paul, 403-4.

in Lusatia, (which was for the most part subject to the elector of Saxony,) near to the former residence ; or some of them might yet be actually expelled ; which may account for what is said of their still continuing to confirm their people.—“ We have heard,” he said “ with extreme grief, that the pastors in your parts are ejected from their charges, and that innocent and worthy men, with their wives and families, are wandering in exile. We are greatly distressed at the news, both for your sakes, and for the sake of your churches ; and we implore the Son of God, who hath said, *I will not leave you orphans*, to relieve these calamities, and to afford you the help of which you stand in need. As, however, the sources of consolation are known to you, we write the more briefly, and exhorting you, as long as it is in your power, to address your flocks, not to cease to confirm their minds, that they may not, on account of your sufferings, hesitate concerning the doctrines they have received.—As nothing is more to support the mind than a clear understanding of the truth, present to them the two systems in strong contrast to one another. The papal faction uphold manifest idolatry—invocation of the dead, with many monstrous superstitions growing out of it. They impiously prostitute the sacrament of the Lord’s supper for gain, and worship the bread which they carry in procession. They take away the true doctrine of the gospel concerning repentance, feign vain satisfactions for sins ; torment humble consciences by the confessions which they make necessary to forgiveness ; destroy consolation proposed to us in the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ ; and establish monuments of worship of human invention. Never let

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people think, when our differences are on such points as these, that we excite unnecessary controversies. Often therefore let them hear a summary of the true doctrine : and set before them the solemn sentences, *Flee from idolatry : If any man teach another gospel, let him be anathema : The blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall never be forgiven.*—These thunders of the word of God fail of dismaying the enemies of the gospel, many of whom knowingly oppose the truth. They flatter themselves, and feign deceitful pretexts for their conduct. While they establish idolatry, they pretend that they only support order ; and deny that married men, or men not ordained by (their) bishops, can administer the Lord's supper." These pretences he discusses, and then repeats the exhortation, frequently to revolve in their own minds, and to present to the people, the whole body of doctrine for which they contended. "You will support your afflictions," he observes, "with more composure, when you consider, that you suffer this cruel treatment, not for a private cause, but for the true and indispensable doctrine of God.—The same considerations also will confirm the people in their adherence to the truth, and in their endeavours still to maintain their churches.—We have written to assure you of the sympathy of our churches : and we implore the Son of God, the Word of the eternal Father, to preserve the ministry of the gospel in many countries, and to teach, guide, and protect both you and us. Be sure that the churches of these parts will never be wanting to you, when they can render you any friendly and hospitable services."¹

¹ Mel. Epist. i. 78, or vi. p. 361.

We cannot but admire the paternal, the truly apostolical manner, so much according to the model of the inspired epistles themselves, in which the venerable reformer here “comforts the feeble-minded, supports the weak,” watches over both pastors and flocks, and gives the wisest counsels to each class, under their afflictions.

Controver-
sies.

It is deeply to be regretted, that, beset as the protestant church in Germany was by external enemies, it should not have been at peace within itself. But we are compelled again to advert to the various and bitter controversies, by which it was agitated from the very termination of the Smalkaldic war.

On the
sacrament.

1552.

1555.

The sacramental controversy was now revived, and carried on with much acrimony. Hardenberg of Bremen, a disciple of Melancthon, embraced the Zwinglian doctrine, to which Melancthon himself is believed to have become less and less averse as he advanced in life; while Westphal of Hamburg maintained that of Luther; and Calvin, Bullinger, and John à Lasco subsequently engaged in the dispute.¹ Brentius, who had shewn himself no very mild partisan in behalf of Luther's doctrine on this subject, observes upon it, “I know not whether any thing more obstructed the cause of the reformation, and the progress of the heavenly doctrine, than this controversy.” But we shall enter no further into the painful subject than to transcribe the following remark, which has been made upon Luther's conduct relative to it, and the lesson to be derived from the review of the whole. “No historical topic can be more instructive to every class

¹ Sleid. 619. Hane, ii. 146-7.

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pendent, and especially to those whose opinions may have weight in a revival of religion, on this lamentable discussion. The only action on which Luther lost his temper, injured his cause, injured the progress of reformation, grieved the Spirit of grace, and set the infant church, was *that in which he is most clearly wrong*.... Let those who are in danger of magnifying points in dispute be warned by this example. Let them see how easy to error are the greatest and purest minds; let them be slow in committing themselves beyond the exact prescriptions of revealed truth; and, above all, let them dread setting such points into terms of communion, and creating a lasting division in the affections of Christians." ¹

The adiaphoristic controversy also was still carried on, and extended to new points, with bitter animosity against Melancthon and his friends. Flacius, the prime leader on the side opposed to Melancthon, had now quitted Magdeburg, and for a time held a professorship under the sons of John Frederic at Jena, where he had drawn to his party Aurifaber, Ansdorf, and other friends of Luther. By the adherents of Melancthon he is charged with ingratitude to his old master—for Melancthon had not only guided his studies, but, from his own very moderate funds, had materially contributed to his support while he pursued them,—as he did to that of many other young men of promising talents and but slender fortunes. ² But we will not enter into these charges and recriminations. That Fla-

Adiaphoristic controversy.

¹ Christian Observer, 1827, p. 46.

² Cam. Vit. Mel. § 75, 82, 83, 104. Melch. Ad. i. 33, Ansdorfio.

1556.

cus was a man of a violent and impatient spirit, and that Melancthon generally bore attacks with great moderation, seems indubitable. He terms him indeed, in his former letters, "the Illyrian viper," and says he brought charges against him which were bare falsehoods:¹ but the following is a specimen of his manner of addressing and putting treating the man himself: "You claim credit for not publishing as mine a letter which I never wrote, but which is a mere forgery. You have published the Leipsic form both garbled and interpolated. What need you to attack an old friend, who has not you, with such arts as these? . . . I have not changed the doctrine of the Confession. Concerning rites of an indifferent nature, I have contended but little about them, for they were already received in most of the churches in these parts. When you raised opposition to them, I kept quiet: I did not enter into controversy. Ajax, in Homer, was satisfied when Hector retired and left him master of the field; but you never make an end of accusing me. What enemy acts in this way—striking and then that yield, and throw down their arms? I yield the victory: I yield it: I will not dispute about these rites: I long for the peace of the church. I even acknowledge that I did wrong in keeping aloof from these insidious contentions, and ask God pardon for so doing. I must refute the false charges which you and Gallus bring against me."²—To the past

¹ Melanc. Consil. ii. 119, 120, &c.

² Ib. 254, 255. Nicolas Gallus was another eager partisan.—Wiesmann, who has reviewed these controversies, appears to consider this letter as a retractation, on the part of Melancthon, of his adiaphoristic doctrine. Introd. a

in Saxon churches he writes on the same subject: "I receive in silence the buffets that are laid on me: yet Flacius and Gallus never cease troubling me. Both the courts of princes and people are excited against me with wonder and artifice: yet the mischief would only be increased, and fresh controversies raised, should I answer them. I look to the judgment of wise and good men, who are not alienated from me by the clamours and calumnies of my adversaries.—I am cheered by the hope that in a little time, under the guidance of the Son of God, I shall quit the confusions of this world, and join the church in the heavenly state, where God reigns, and truth is contemplated with unmixed delight. I hope also, that an enlightened posterity will judge more equitably of my labours."¹

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Jan.

Melancthon, however, could not always restrain his friends within the limits which he prescribed to himself; and their interposition, as we are told, on some occasions did but inflame the existing evil, and add 'oil to the fire.'²

The questions relative to justification will be more interesting to us. The notion of

Controversies on
Justification.

ex. i. p. 1535. To me, I confess, it bears no such character. It shews the course which the writer of it had pursued towards his angry opponent. Elsewhere he says, "It has long been my philosophy, to abstain from contending with an angry man." (Epist. ii. 322.) He might fairly lament having involved himself in troublesome and dangerous deliberations, without having changed his opinion on the main point at issue. He speaks to that effect many years before the date of this letter: "I shudder as long as I think of the court, and of the deliberations to be entered upon there." "I have suffered long enough the storms of the court." "I wish I had ever kept at a distance from the courts of princes," &c. Epist. vi. pp. 104-5, 109, 167. iv. 233—238, 264, 265, 300, 335.

¹ Consil. ii. 259, &c.

² Cam. Vit. Mel. § 104.

Osiander upon this all-important subject : been already explained.¹ He held that we justified, not by virtue of Christ's obedience unto death for us, but by the essential righteousness of the divine nature, in some mysterious manner imparted to us, and dwelling in One or two remarks of Melancthon upon this dogma are all that need be quoted ; but a notice of its author himself may not be without instruction, as furnishing a warning against vanity and self-conceit.

Account of
Osiander.

Andrew Osiander (the same whose niece Cranmer married,) was a native of Bavaria who, after studying at Wittenberg, settled in his own country. He was a man of considerable talents and attainments, being, in particular, master of a popular eloquence ; and early distinguished himself in the cause of reformation. But all his more valuable qualities were vitiated, and rendered to a great degree useless, by a large mixture of arrogant conceit, and fondness for new discoveries in religion. Of this he gave a very open proof at the conference of Marburg in 1527. By desire of the landgrave, each of the divines there present was to preach in his turn. Osiander took for his subject the great question " How shall man be just with God ? " Osiander the next day took the same text as Luther had done, and " philosophized concerning righteousness," with such refinement as disgusted the wiser part of his hearers, and raised a suspicion that he secretly cherished more novelty than he was willing to avow. To his sermons and conversation, however, at the diet of Torgue, seven years after this time, is at

¹ Vol. i. 324.

A. D. 1544.

lated the conversion, to the protestant faith, of the elder Albert of Brandenburg :¹ whence, on quitting his situation at Nuremberg at the period of the Interim, Osiander, at Albert's invitation, removed into Prussia, to the university then recently founded at Königsberg. During Luther's lifetime he had been held under restraint by the influence of that reformer, but afterwards, as he himself flippantly and in very misnomering language expressed it, "When the lion was dead, he cared not for the foxes." Hence he broached many strange dogmas, the memory of which was soon lost in that convincing justification. This last continued to excite much controversy for some time after the death of its author in 1552, till at length the dispute was happily appeased, and the true doctrine of the reformation publicly established in Prussia.²

The remarks of Melancthon on Osiander's notion of justification, which we proposed to transcribe, are the following. "Osiander holds that we are righteous by the divinity dwelling in us.—This differs little from the doctrine of the heathen philosophers, who taught that man attains not to virtue but by a divine influence.—We also readily acknowledge that God

Melancthon on his dogma.

¹ Milner, v. 177. (757.)

² Melch. Ad. in Osiandro, l. 110—115: item i. 167. App. 111, 112, here referred to, may be seen a long letter addressed to Osiander, by Joachim Morlin, "a learned, eloquent, and pacific divine," who had been expelled from Göttingen by Eric of Brunswick, and was commissioned by Albert to make peace between Osiander and his other friends. Osiander's reply may be fairly termed insolent. He treated Melancthon also with great disrespect and asperity, "all which," says Melchior Adam, "the meek old man bore with an undisturbed mind, and even subsequently mentioned his assailant with respect."

dwells in the regenerate, so as to produce only virtuous emotions, but even the commencement of eternal life—to make us *partakers*, as S. Peter expresses it, *of a divine nature*. . . . But then there exists a question of another kind : How may man receive remission of sins and reconciliation with God ? have righteousness imputed, or reckoned, unto him ? Is this from the indwelling of Christ in us, or by his obedience for us ? . . . Osiander effect says, that we are justified by our renovation to holiness. We, on the other hand while we admit the necessity of renovation hold that the renewed man is justified, accepted of God, for the sake of Christ's obedience." ¹

Again : " I regard Osiander's dogma no mere logomachy, or strife of words. It differs from our churches on a very essential point, and obscures, or rather destroys, the consolation provided for distressed consciences, seeing he leads us not to the promise of mercy through the obedience of the Mediator, but directs us to another object." ²

Thus does the venerable reformer, while he clearly states and distinguishes the true doctrine of justification, still treat it not as an abstract truth, but with direct reference to the heart and conscience : and thus does he guard us against supposing, that, because two things are both necessary, one may perform the office of the other.

The doctrine of
Lauterwald.

On the error of Lauterwald, who in another way corrupted the same great doctrine, we may be tempted to offer somewhat larger extracts

¹ Camer. Vit. Mel. Strobel. Append. 19.

² Mel. Consil. ii. 158.

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Because, though it much less agitated the protestant church at the time, it was a species of error which has spread its influence much more widely, and been much more permanent. It bordered closely on what was maintained by the more temperate papists, Pflug at Ratisbon, Gropper at Cologne, and Heldingus in the Interim; and it is virtually the same which is still supported by great names among ourselves, though it could never to any considerable extent make its way among protestants of the age of the reformation.

Matthias Lauterwald was the minister of Eperies, in Upper Hungary. He had been known and esteemed at Wittemberg: but was fond of refinements, and too prone to contention.¹ His sentiment was, that our repentance, our love, our obedience are all *included* in the faith that justifies us, and are thus conjointly with it the means of procuring us the benefit of Christ's redemption. On this Melancthon thus speaks, in delivering "the judgment of the university of Wittemberg" to the senate of Eperies. "Though true faith, or reliance on the Saviour, cannot exist in those who go on securely in their sins, and are destitute of contrition, yet contrition and new obedience are not, as Lauterwald would make them, the means of applying the promise of grace. Contrition necessarily precedes; but when he asks, whether as a cause or a means? we answer, As neither, but rather as a wound, or the feeling that we are wounded, precedes a cure.—The whole human race is obnoxious to the dreadful anger of God. A sense of this is awakened in the mind either by the ministry of the word, by

Melancthon's animadversions upon it.
1554.

¹ "Amens argutiores, et pugnax."

our experiencing the consequences of sin, or by other means. Under these convictions many perish, quarrelling with the divine judgment, or with Epicurean contempt setting it at defiance. Others, casting away the arms of rebellion, and seeking consolation from the gospel, receive remission of sins, reconciliation with God, justification, and quickening (or renovation) by the Holy Ghost. And here the promise is embraced and applied only by faith, or affiance in the Mediator, and not on account of our contrition, or the virtues that follow after. Faith relies only on the Mediator, or on the mercies promised for his sake ; in which the heart rests, knowing that the promises are sure in him."—The writer then quotes some apposite passages of scripture, Psalm vi. 4, Daniel ix. 17, 18, Romans iv. 16, and proceeds : " In order to understand these scriptures, we must cherish, not idle speculations, but true convictions of sin, and the genuine consolation which is found in turning to God, and calling upon him daily.—We teach not empty refinements, but divine truth ; what is most necessary in practice, and easily intelligible to pious minds. We say, that men, *all* men, ought to be convinced of sin by the word of God, and, under this alarm of conscience, to fly by faith to the Mediator ; and that by this faith, gratuitously, not for the sake of works either antecedent or consequent, remission of sins, reconciliation with God, and justification are received ; and that those who thus believe in the Son of God are quickened by him, who speaks peace to their consciences, and delivers their hearts from the pains of hell, by his Spirit given unto them : and that thus new obedience is begun.—That these things take place in true conversion is

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after of experience to all pious persons.—
 ever would David say that he had remission
 sins for the sake of his good works now per-
 shed, either in part or in whole.—Let us put
 all corruptions of the truth far from us, and
 suffer humble souls to be deprived of their
 consolation. Under real distress of con-
 science, no ground of comfort will avail but
 at which S. Paul lays down, *Therefore it is
 faith, that it might be by grace, to the end
 promise might be sure.*"

There again is the true way of preaching the
 doctrine of justification by faith—applying it as
 healing balm to wounded consciences. Minds
 prepared will not long misapprehend it, when
 is fairly proposed to them: neither will they
 use it. This doctrine is no mere theory to
 be learned; but a remedy to be applied, first in
 our own case, and then for the benefit of others.

We add a few more sentences from the same
 important paper. "Lauterwald's corruption
 of the doctrine does not differ from the synec-
 oche of the monks,¹ who say that faith justifies

¹ By which faith was considered as a comprehensive name
 for all Christian graces and virtues.

To supply a hiatus, occasioned by a correction which it
 was found requisite to make after this sheet had passed the
 press, I here insert a letter of Melancthon's to Brentius, for
 which a subsequent note (p. 123,) refers the reader to an
 intended appendix. It was probably written soon after the
 year 1539.

"I have received your copious epistle, which afforded me
 great pleasure. Let me beg you to write frequently and
 fully. I perceive what is your difficulty on the subject of
 faith. You are entangled in Augustine's notion, who goes
 to the length of denying that our natural righteousness (rationis
 meritum) is counted for righteousness before God—and so
 he thinks rightly; but then supposes that we are accounted
 righteous (or justified) on the ground of that fulfilling of the
 law, which the Holy Spirit produces in us. You think there-
 fore that we are justified by faith, because by faith we receive

us as being the originating principle of love and of good works. But the fact is this, nothing but faith *lays hold* on the promise. In this, faith differs from all other works, that it alone embraces the promise, and receives the blessing as unmerited. Other works offer something to God: nor can the application of the blessing

the Holy Spirit, that we may become righteous by fulfilling the law through his influence and operation. This notion makes our own obedience, purity, or perfection to be our justifying righteousness: and such renovation, it is confessed, must follow faith. But do you, my friend, turn off your eyes from this object, and from the law altogether, and fix them on the promise and on Christ; and perceive that we are accounted righteous, that is, are accepted of God, and have peace of conscience, for Christ's sake, and not for that of our renovation to holiness. For this latter is not adequate to that end. We are justified by faith alone, not because of that grace's being, as you write, the root of all virtues, but because it lays hold on Christ, for whose sake we are accepted, whatever be the amount of our renovation—which indeed must necessarily follow, but is not the thing that gives peace to the conscience. Love therefore (though it is *the fulfilling of the law*,) is not that which justifies, but faith only—not as constituting any perfection in us, but as apprehending (or embracing) the Saviour. We are righteous, (or justified) not because of our fulfilling of the law, or our love, or our renovation, (though these are the gifts of the Holy Spirit in us,) but for the sake of Christ—whom we apprehend by faith alone.

“Augustine does not fully come up to the meaning of S. Paul, though he approaches nearer to it than the schoolmen; and I cite him,* because of the general opinion entertained concerning him, though he does not sufficiently explain the righteousness of faith.—Believe me, the controversy concerning this subject is momentous and difficult. You will however rightly understand it, if you entirely turn away your eyes from the law, and from Augustine's notion of fulfilling the law, and fix your thoughts altogether on the free promise; considering that we are justified, or accepted and find peace, through the promise (alone) and for the sake of Christ.—This is the true doctrine, which sets forth the glory of Christ,

* The sixth vol. of the Epistles (1647,) here adds—injuriously, it would seem—“as fully agreeing with us.”

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means of works be understood in any other ; than that they effect it by some merit ch they possess. Lauterwald, therefore, le he rejects the name of merit, retains thing, and imposes upon himself by vain ulations.—As to his urging that grace is pro-

wonderfully relieves and cheers the conscience. I have avowed to explain it in the Apology," or Defence of the basion of Augsburg: " but I could not there speak so y, because of the cavils of our adversaries, as I now k to you ; though in fact, I [in each case] say the same g.—How would the conscience ever enjoy pence and red hope, if it had to reflect thus : ' Then at length we be accounted righteous, when our renovation is per- d.' What else is this, but to be justified according to aw, and not according to free promise ?—In that dis- ion [the Confession or the Apology] I said, that to attri- justification to love is to attribute it to our own work— rstanding by that, a work wrought in us by the Holy it. For faith justifies not as a work of the renewing is Holy Ghost in us, but (simply) as embracing the sur ; for whose sake, and not because of the gifts of Holy Spirit in us, we are accepted to the favour of God," me. Epist. i. 99, or vi. p. 371.

he student, in reading bishop Bull's Harmonia, is earnestly ested to compare with it this letter of Melancthon's, and judgment concerning Lauterwald.

he letter before us has been severely carped at by Bannet t. des Varai. l. v. 29, 30.) on two grounds: 1. As ying that Melancthon had a ~~serious doctrine concerning~~ fication, which he dared not ~~own~~ in the Confession and logy: and 2. As acknowledging a ~~discreet~~ use of astine's authority. The first charge is manifestly false. He says, *Repetit idem docet*—' I say the same thing in Confession and Apology as was, through I could not k so freely in the matter of ~~truth~~ as I do in a ~~confer-~~ dence with a friend.'—We ~~cannot~~ to the latter, we are nally surprised at the ~~statements~~ were made ~~concerning~~ astine—unless we ~~suppose~~ suppose some of the ~~statements~~ to be intended: but the question of ~~truth~~ is not in- l, in the use made of the authority: must depend on the at to which Melancthon has ~~represented~~ him as going g with the reformers in ~~their~~ doctrine. In the last ~~chapter~~ p. 24., Bannet is ~~shown~~ to be ~~showing~~ ~~showing~~ a ~~man~~ that was ~~misleading~~ a with Bannet and others.

mised to a *complete* repentance, if he does not make the just distinction between the different things comprehended under that name,¹ and assign to each its proper place and office, we do not admit his position. To *contrition* grace is promised, as healing to a wound : *faith* applies the remedy : but in no sense can it be said that pardon is promised in consideration of the *works* to follow.—He will say perhaps, this is only reciting our constant ditty. And we admit that we do constantly repeat the same doctrine on this subject ; because no other is true.”

Surely it must be superfluous again to point out, how precisely this is the doctrine of our own Articles and Homilies. “ Because by faith, given us of God, we *embrace the promise* of God’s mercy, and of the remission of sins—WHICH NONE OTHER OF OUR VIRTUES OR WORKS PROPERLY DOTH—therefore the scripture useth to say, that faith without works doth justify.” “ Faith doth not shut out repentance, hope, love, dread, and the fear of God, to be joined with faith in every man that is justified ; but it SHUTTETH THEM OUT FROM THE OFFICE OF JUSTIFYING. So that, although they be all present together, yet THEY JUSTIFY NOT ALL TOGETHER.”²

The divines of Wittemberg go on to observe, that Lauterwald, in support of his sentiment

¹ That is, when it is taken, as Melancthon often takes it, as equivalent to the whole of *conversion*. Compare 2 Cor. vii. 10. “ The term *repentance*,” Melancthon says, “ often properly signifies contrition, or godly sorrow : but the usage of the church applies it to the whole of *conversion*,” or turning to God : “ and therefore I also have so used it—because I willingly retain established language.” Otherwise he would have preferred calling the latter *conversion*, “ according to the practice of the prophets,” and restraining *repentance* more strictly to sorrow for sin. ² Hom. of Salvation.

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reduced faith, (considered, of course, apart from the comprehensive sense which he assigned to it,) to mere historic assent, which might exist without love: they treat his error as so material that they exhort the senate, in case he would not acquiesce in the judgment now given, to refer the question to the protestant churches at large; and, if he should still resist their united decision upon it, not to continue him in the office of their pastor. It was with grief and reluctance that they offered this advice, but they felt compelled to do it.¹

Considerable dispute also arose about this time concerning the exclusive term *only*, as annexed to *faith*, in speaking of justification. Of this however, after what we have already seen, our notice may be very brief. In what sense the term *faith only* was and is applied,² must be evident to every candid inquirer; namely, not as denying the cœexistence of other Christian graces along with faith in the man that is justified, but only as excluding them from the office of justifying him; not, again, as making faith to be his justifying righteousness, but only the link which connects him with the Saviour, by whom, and for whose sake, he is justified.—Flacius, it seems, among his other charges against Melancthon, accused him of having given up the exclusive term: but the truth of this charge the reformer utterly denies. “I never said, I never wrote, I never thought, that it was an inaccuracy, or a mere refinement. On the contrary, I have said and written more

¹ Consil. ii. 189—193.—I here subjoin in the appendix a remarkable letter of Melancthon's to Brentius, on the subject of justification, and on Augustine's views of it, which has been sharply animadverted upon by certain writers.

² Church Art. xi.

in explanation and defence of this form of speaking, than others have done. When our adversaries urged that the term *only* did not occur in the scriptures, I always answered, that exclusive terms were frequently repeated by S. Paul upon this subject.—They urge that faith is not *alone* in us. I admit this in all its extent, when speaking of the faith to which we ascribe justification; and to preclude the misunderstanding of the subject which the objection supposes, I have said that I would not contend for a particular term, and have sometimes substituted the word *gratis*, or *freely*, which S. Paul, a master in the use of terms, has also employed.”—Such is the substance of Melancthon’s answer, frequently repeated; and it shews the whole ‘head and front of his offending,’ for which he was fiercely assailed in his own day, and for which unfounded charges are still brought against him.¹

Controversy concerning the necessity of works.

The controversy which arose concerning the necessity of good works to salvation may chiefly deserve to be noticed, as affording a warning against pushing sentiments, which have a right foundation, and are in their just sense, and within their proper limits, of essential importance, to an extreme, or deducing extravagant and dangerous inferences from them. Even Amsdorf the old friend of Luther, consecrated by him bishop of Naumburg,² now went the length of maintaining, “that good works were not only not necessary to salvation, but were an obstruction to it!”³

¹ Consil. ii. 118, 119, 120, 269, 274. Compare Mosheim, iv. 36—38, and Maclaine’s notes; and above, p. 71.

² Vol. i. 307-8.

³ “Bona opera sunt ad salutem noxia et pernicioſa.” Melch. Ad. in Amsd. i. 33. Mel. Consil. ii. 308.

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at a much earlier period Melancthon
 thus: "Cordatus stirs up against me the
 by the surrounding countries, and the court
 self, because, in explaining the controversy
 concerning justification, I said that renewed
 obedience was necessary to salvation."¹ Yet
 these persons did not mean to be antinomians,
 to encourage an abuse of the grace of God;
 they had unhappily possessed their minds
 with the idea, that good works could not be
 insisted on as in any sense necessary to salva-
 tion, without their being made necessary to
 secure it, as a meritorious cause.² George
 Forster, an excellent person, and a professor at
 Wittenberg,³ first drew upon himself the
 attacks of Flacius, Gallus, and Amsdorf, on
 this subject; and from him they fixed upon
 one who held the necessity of works the name
Majorists. Yet his position, as originally
 held, and afterwards more distinctly explained
 by himself, seems to have been no more than
 what sober-minded men must admit, and in no
 way to have compromised the freeness of
 justification. Yet such was his desire to pre-
 vent controversy, and to live at peace, that he
 resolved in future to decline the use of the lan-
 guage which had given offence.⁴ Even Me-
 lancthon seems to have gone unnecessarily far
 in concession upon this point. He continued
 to insist on good works, or renewed obedience
 of heart and life, as *necessary*, but he renounced
 the expression *necessary to salvation*.⁵ Yet

¹ Epist. vi. p. 438: item, 403.

² Others were more directly antinomian: they went the
 length of openly maintaining that the decalogue was abo-
 lished, that it ought not to be taught in the churches, &c.

³ Epist. iv. 836. vi. p. 403. Consil. ii. 306—308.

⁴ Vol. i. 435-6.

⁵ Melch. Ad. in Majore, i. 224.

⁶ Consil. ii. 255, 289, 306—308, 367.

the application of the reproachful names of *Philippists* and *Majorists*, intended to describe those who were suspected of tampering with the doctrine of justification, “and of making good works, combined with faith, to merit the remission of sins, and to be the cause of our justification before God,” could not be shaken off. Had reasonable men been the persons to be dealt with, one might have supposed, that by a very temperate use of definition this controversy, which harassed the church for several years, might have been brought to a speedy and satisfactory termination. Neither party intended, that either our justification, or our ultimate salvation, is any other than a free gift, conferred by the divine mercy, for Christ’s sake alone, and simply in consequence of our being united with him by faith :¹ but the one as well as the other ought surely to have admitted unequivocally, that it was *necessary* “that he who had believed in God should be careful to maintain good works,” and that the professed believer, who did not do this, proved his faith to be dead and his confidence a delusion : and, when these two points were accorded, what subject of dispute could remain ?

In another contention into which Flacius fell with Strigelius, a brother professor at Jena, he is said to have gone the extravagant length of maintaining, “that original sin is the very

¹ Major expressly said in explanation, “that he had never taught, never imagined, what was imputed to him ; that he had always referred the whole of our justification and salvation entirely to the divine mercy, and the merit of our Saviour Jesus Christ, received by faith only—which faith would be followed by good works as its never-failing fruits.” Melch. Adam.

substance of human nature," and to have persisted in this strange position to his dying day.¹ But this was at a period posterior to the present limits of our history.

A. D.
1554.

We shall here notice only one more of these harassing controversies. This was raised by Francesco Stancari, a native of Mantua, but a professor in the university of Königsberg, who, being compelled to quit his situation in consequence of his opposition to the dogma of Quiander, retired to Francfort on the Oder. He is described as a man of a turbulent spirit; and he fell into the error of supposing that he had somewhat of importance to teach the church, in maintaining that the mediatorial office of our Saviour was discharged exclusively in his human nature. Here again we shall content ourselves with transcribing two short sentences from Melancthon. "I hesitate not," he says, "to pronounce Stancari's notion an error: for to the Mediator it belongs not only to die, but that his death should be an equivalent ransom for men; and that he should be the conqueror of death. Also that he should be a priest entering into the holiest of all—into the secret council of the Most High. Yea, moreover, that he should sanctify the hearts of men by giving to them his Holy Spirit. But these things belong to the divine nature." Again: "When I recite to myself the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, *Come unto me, all ye that labour, and I will give you rest*, I understand him to be Mediator alike in the divine and in the human nature. He gives rest not only because he suffers, but because he conquers with his precious blood. He conquers with his blood, and

Stancari's
dogma con-
cerning
Christ's
mediation.

such is the voice of all antiquity. As the obedience of our Mediator is an equivalent ransom for us, the Mediator is God, and not man only. Such is the purport of that passage, *He emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, &c.* Phil. ii."¹

Reflections
on these
controversies.

All these scenes of fierce controversy, so soon rising in the reformed churches, present, no doubt, a mournful spectacle. 'They wofully display the tendencies of human nature, and the art and malice of the great enemy of divine truth and human happiness. Defects may probably be pointed out, through which the Lutheran church failed of opposing the proper checks to a rising spirit of contention and insubordination:² yet even these defects, with all their consequences, afford not that matter of triumph to the Romanist, which he affects to find in them. It is better to have some disorder than the stillness of universal death. Besides, no such unity as he boasts has existed in his own church: as our notice of the council of Trent will abundantly demonstrate.—But the narrative before us affords most important and seasonable warning to ourselves. Fierce contentions have too frequently followed close upon remarkable revivals of religion, and have deformed their character, and arrested their progress. These contentions have in great part arisen from well-intentioned and zealous men pushing things to extremes, being too impatient to pause for the purpose of defining and explaining, and thus drowning the voice

¹ Melch. Ad. i. 113. Melanc. Epist. ii. 260, to George of Anhalt. Consil. ii. 269, 270. M'Cries's Ref. in Italy, 340, 370.

² Rose on the state of the Protestant Churches on the Continent.

DISSENT TO THE PEACE OF RELIGION.

1846

A. D.
1846.

With amid the din of loud assertion and
loud dispute. But that which was violent
extreme could never continue long: it is
the nature of things that it should do.
With the temperate, and the calm, and
moderate—provided only that they do not
sacrifice substantial truth—is wisdom: and
there also is endurance; while that which
is things beyond all due bounds soon
goes away; nay, very commonly it opens the
door for that which is in the contrary extreme
to exceed it. The overstrained discipline of
the Anabaptists, refusing to restore the lapsed,
insisting on rebaptizing those who had
received the initiatory sacrament from the
hands of heretics, was soon generally con-
sidered, and disappeared. The high presby-
terianism, which insisted that its form of church
government in all its parts, with all the rules
of the conduct of public worship, was to be
found in scripture, and that not the minutest
variance was to be admitted which was not
prescribed there, has long since given way
to the more temperate doctrine for which
it was contended. The fierce opposition
which was once made to surplices and bands
and hoods is now lamented by all parties, and
many of these vestments adopted even by the
adversaries of those who led that opposition.

Where has *ultra*-Calvinism ever long
retained its ground? In short every thing
—every thing pushed to an extreme is
eventually to be avoided, if we would durably
promote the true interests of the church of
Christ. This is a lesson which may much

be regarded in our day. True religion
has been extensively revived: the genuine doc-
trines of the reformation, which are those of

the gospel itself, have spread to an extent hardly ever before known among us: we are to guard, no doubt, against those who would tamper with them, and dilute them, and frustrate their efficacy by worldly associations and a worldly spirit: but we are no less to guard against those who would push them to an extreme; who would overstate and overstretch them; who would vitiate them by unscriptural inferences, and lay them open to antinomian abuse by crude and unwarranted statements; or who disgrace them by violence of spirit and a contemptuous treatment of such things as cannot go *their* lengths.¹ By such proceedings the seeds of decay were sown in the Lutheran church at a very early period: as Romish superstition has generated infidelity, so it is to be apprehended that the refinements and the contentions, which followed the death of Luther, might do much towards gradually preparing the way for the neology and other abominations of modern German Protestantism.² “Be not high-minded, but let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.”

¹ Of the spirit of some German protestants of Melancthon's time we may judge from their calling the European martyrs under the Marian persecution, “the devil's martyrs,” and proposing to expel the French and English refugees on account of their differences from them. Mel. Epist. iv. Consil. ii. 251—253.

² In the fancies of Caspar Schwenckfeldt, apparently pious, but weak and enthusiastic man, who caused much trouble to the reformers, we may perhaps trace some of the *mysticism* which infests protestant Germany; and Thammerus, of whom Melancthon asserts, that he “transformed the gospel into heathenish allegories,” may be afforded an early specimen of modern German infidelity. See Mel. Consil. ii. 303. Mosheim iv. 30—32. Mosheim Ad. i. 64, 73, 162, 231.

shall now conclude this chapter, and the course of this part of our history, with notice of some of the more eminent men of the reformation, in connexion with the Lutheran church, who closed their career within a few years of the period now passed under our review.

A. D.
1535.

Notices of
Lutheran
Reformers.

His early and faithful friend Spalatinus, then to the elector of Saxony, died in the year 1545, a year before the reformer, at the age of sixty-three. He appears to have adhered to the last subject to that depression of spirits, and dejection in his work, against Luther in so edifying a manner encouraged and admonished him.¹ But by these exertions he was kept in his post, and in the discharge of his duties to the end of his life.²

Spalatinus.

The death of Frederic Myconius, for twenty years pastor and superintendant of Saxony, about six weeks after that of Luther, has already noticed.³ He died at the age of fifty-five.

F. Myconius.

Hesse, the excellent pastor of Breslaw,⁴ the next year, 1547, aged sixty, and was succeeded by Aurifaber. His colleague Amalfoiban survived him seven years.⁵

Hesse.

Amalfoiban.

Aspar Cruciger we may give a somewhat more detailed account. He was a native of Saxony, and studied at Wittenberg. He afterwards presided for some years over the church at Magdeburg. In 1527 he was called to Wittenberg, to fill the offices of a preacher of the churches, and a lecturer in the university; and he continued there the remainder of his life—being rector

Cruciger.

¹ iv. 615, &c. (App. 62.) ² Melch. i. 483. Milner v. 567. (App. 6.)
³ v. 145. (723.) ⁴ Melch. A.

university from the year 1546 to 1548. Having great skill in the Hebrew language, he assisted Luther in his translation of the scriptures. We have already seen¹ in what high estimation he was held by that reformer: and after Luther's death Melancthon had scarcely a more valued adviser and coadjutor. Joachim Camerarius, who had been his fellow student under George Heltus,² preceptor to George prince of Anhalt, (when Richard Crock, an Englishman, was their instructor in Greek,) speaks in terms of the highest admiration of his learning, prudence, piety, and amiable manners. His learning was almost universal; and he was particularly distinguished for the rapidity of his penmanship. When he acted as secretary at the conference of Worms, in the year 1540, Granvelle, the emperor's minister, remarked of him, "The Lutherans have a scribe who possesses more learning than all the men of the opposite party." He greatly delighted in the study of nature, and in tracing God in his works. He died in 1548, at the age of only forty-five years—worn down with studies, labours, and anxious cares for the church. "He departed out of life," says Camerarius,³ with ardent prayers for himself, and all who in common with him were in jeopardy for religion's sake, and committing his soul to the hands of Jesus Christ, whom he had devoutly worshipped, and in all his studies faithfully served." Melchior Adam is somewhat more particular. "He lay," says this collector, "three months without hope of recovery, displaying unfailing faith, patience, and piety. Not even then did he intermit his studies, but

¹ Vol. i. 256.² Ib. 388.³ Vit. Melanc. § 87.

A. D.
1555.

led up his time with useful employments, to the utmost that his strength would bear. In the morning he had his little daughters called to him, and heard them repeat their prayers, intermingling with them his own sighs, tears, and supplications, for the church of Christ, for himself, and for his children. 'O Lord,' he prayed, 'pardon my sins, for the sake of Jesus Christ thy Son, who was crucified for us, and raised from the dead: sanctify me by thy Holy Spirit: preserve in these countries the remnant of thy church, and suffer not the light of thy Gospel to be extinguished. Make these my sinners vessels of mercy! I call upon thee in faith, though it be weak and languid. O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, I believe thy promise, which thou hast sealed with thy death and resurrection. Assist me: raise and cheer my heart with faith!' He frequently, on these occasions, repeated words to this effect; and afterwards, having pressed upon his children some pious instructions, he dismissed them. He then applied himself to various studies, mathematical and philological, as well as theological. Among other things, during his illness he completed a translation of Luther's commentary on the last words of David. He discoursed also largely with his friends on various interesting topics. At length, with a peaceful mind, and in the midst of his prayers, he slept in the Lord, November 16, 1548, and was honourably buried in the church at Vitemberg."¹

Such accounts are deeply interesting. It is most edifying thus to learn how to die, from men whose example has taught us how we ought to live.

¹ Melch. Ad. i. 93--96.

Melancthon, in his epistles, has some further notices of this excellent man. "Cruciger," he says, "is daily sinking more and more: yet his mind is strong, and he still pursues his studies. Sometimes he gets abroad and gazes upon the heavens; and then he seems to return refreshed to hold communion with the Son of God, and to commend us and all our pursuits to the divine blessing in the most earnest prayers." And again, some time after his decease: "Our dear friend Cruciger used often before his death to repeat the words, *Lord I believe, help thou mine unbelief!* and he added, 'I know that it is thy pleasure to be called upon in the exercise of this faith, though it is feeble; and I am assured that such prayer shall not be in vain.'"¹

Vitus
Theodorus.
1549.

The next year died Vitus Theodorus, or Theodore Veit, who has been noticed as one of Luther's companions at Coburg,² at the period of the diet of Augsburg. He was a native of Nuremberg, and exercised his ministry in that city with great acceptance, for many years previous to his death. He was there much annoyed by the public insults of Osiander: but, by Melancthon's advice, he was "as a deaf man that heard them not;" and thus they failed of their effect.³

Spangen-
berg.

John Spangenberg, the pious superintendent of Mansfeld, who has before come under our notice,⁴ died in the year 1550, at the age of sixty-six.⁵

¹ Epist. iv. 749, 783, 877.

² Vol. i. 177.

³ Melch. Ad. i. 96. Camer. Vit. Mel. § 74. From Dr. M'Crie's mention of him, (Ref. in Italy, 91,) as "sent from Venice to Wittemberg," by James Ziegler, who treated him as an "adopted brother," it might be concluded that he was a native of Italy. But such was not the case.

⁴ Vol. i. 473, 509.

⁵ Melch. Ad. 97.

Bucer and Paul Fagius had removed from Strasburg into England, on the invitation of archbishop Cranmer, in consequence of the dangers incurred by their opposition to the Interim; and they died there, the latter in November 1550, the former in February 1551. Their services in this country may hereafter engage our attention. Bucer was in his sixty-first year; Fagius only in his forty-fifth.¹

A. D.
1555.

Bucer and
Fagius.
1549.

The death of Bucer was the next year followed by that of Caspar Hedio, who had long been his fellow labourer at Strasburg,² and of Herman Tast the reformer of Holstein.³

Hedio.
1552.

Tast.

The year 1553 removed prince George of Anhalt, and James Sturmius of Strasburg. Of the former a particular account was given in the preceding volume: the latter, as a layman, taking a leading part in public affairs, rendered great service to the cause of the reformation. He filled the office of senator, and repeatedly that of mayor, in his native city, and was deputed, it is said, as its representative in diets of the empire and on other embassies, not less than ninety times; on all which occasions he displayed such firmness, wisdom, and eloquence, that he gained the highest reputation and influence. He was one of those who first acquired the name of *protestants*, at Spire in 1529: he acted a prominent part in the diet of Augsburg, in the year following: and in 1532 he came as ambassador into England, on important business. It was by his influence that the public school at Strasburg was founded, over which his brother John Sturmius⁴ presided; and that stipends were appointed to encourage men of learning to settle in the city.

George of
Anhalt.
Ja. Sturm-
ius.

1538.

¹ Melch. Ad. 99, 102.

² Milner v. 96. (671.)

³ Ib. 132. (708.) Gerdes, ii. 71, 185.

⁴ Vol. i. 191.

He was deputed again to the emperor, on embassies for the preservation of peace and the protestant religion, at Ratisbon in 1541, Spire 1544, and Worms 1545: and it was chiefly under his guidance that his citizens made the firm and honourable stand which has been related, when the Interim was established, in 1548. To him also we may be said to owe the valuable history of Sleidan, as he prompted the author to undertake that work, and gave him access to many of the original documents necessary to its execution. He was held in high estimation by Melancthon, who consulted with him on all affairs of importance. He died October 30, 1553, at the age of sixty-four years.¹

Just. Jonas.

The next person whose death is to be noticed, is Justus Jonas, who had been the fellow labourer of Luther, from an early period. We have seen that he removed from Wittemberg to Halle in Saxony, in 1541, and thence, in consequence of the Smalkaldic war, (in which he attached himself to the sons of John Frederic,) into the dutchy of Coburg; ² where he was made rector of Eislefeldt, and superintendant of the churches of the dutchy. He died there in 1555, aged sixty-three years. On his death-bed, this excellent man is said to have suffered great mental depression, but to have been roused from it by the consolations, not unmingled with reproofs, suggested by his own servant.³

Frecht and
Forster.

Martin Frechtius, one of those ministers whom the emperor had led away in chains from Ulm, for his opposition to the Interim,⁴ and John Forster of Wittemberg, a skilful

¹ Melch. Ad. iii. 42—44. Camer. Vit. Mel. § 97.

² Vol. i. 303.

³ Melch. Ad. i. 126.

⁴ Above, p. 31.

Hebraist, who had rendered valuable assistance to Luther in his expositions of scripture, died in 1556. The former, on recovering his liberty, had settled at Tübingen, under the duke of Würtemberg.¹

A. D.
1556.

The distinguished chancellor of Saxony, Gregory Pontanus,² died at Jena, in 1557, having settled there under the sons of the late elector.

Pontanus.

Bugenhagius Pomeranus, Justus Menius, and Erhard Snepfius were all removed the year following. The first of these excellent men was for thirty-six years pastor at Wittemberg: and how useful his labours were in various other places, to which he was deputed for the purpose of organizing reformation, has abundantly appeared in the course of our history. He seems never to have quitted Wittemberg on account of the war, not even at the time of the siege; though he was deeply affected with the events which took place, particularly the captivity of the good elector. He supported his mind by constant devotion, and assured himself "that the ark of the church would be safe amid all storms." He mourned over the changes and the controversies which followed: but he himself altered nothing either in rites or in doctrines. The closing scenes of his life were, through the goodness of God, calm and peaceful. During the last year of his life, when he had grown too weak to preach, he daily frequented the house of God, and there commended his soul to God, and his soul to the divine mercy. Taking part too in the conversations and the labours of the church. He had conversed long with the friends of

Bugenhagius.
1558.

the blessed hope of eternal life, and on the prospects opening to posterity. After offering up fervent prayers, and frequently repeating the words, "This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent," he slept in peace, April 20, 1558, in the seventy-third year of his age.¹

Menius.

Justus Menius had for many years laboured successfully at Saxe-Gotha: but the year before his death he sought, at Leipsic, some retreat from the contests raised by Flacius.²

Snepfius.

Snepfius³ was of a good family at Hailbrun, and was by a pious mother devoted to the service of God and religion, from his infancy. He at first, however, applied himself to jurisprudence, and with those flattering prospects of success which a profession, immediately conversant with property and men's temporal interests, never fails to hold out to talents and industry: but he was prevailed upon by the intreaties of his mother to turn his back upon the splendid visions of earthly riches and honours, and to fulfil her original wishes respecting him. After he began to apply to theology, he continued for six years involved in the labyrinths of papal error; but at length he arrived at the knowledge of the truth, by means of the light which Luther had been the instrument of diffusing. This was soon after the year 1520. After labouring usefully at some other places, he was called to the office of a preacher at Marpurg, and a professor in the university which the landgrave of Hesse had founded there. In that situation he acquired great weight and influence: but he

¹ Melch. Ad. i. 150—154. His death was felt as a great loss by Melancthon. Camer. Vit. Mel. § 109.

² Melch. Ad. i. 154.

³ Vol. i. 7, 177.

was at length induced to exchange it for the important post of pastor of Stutgard, under Ulric of Würtemberg, in 1535. In 1543, he removed to Tübingen, under the same prince, and continued there till driven away, to the great grief of the citizens, by the means taken to enforce the Interim. He was then made rector of the new university of Jena, by the sons of John Frederic; and filled his office with honour till his death, in the sixty-third year of his age, November 1, 1558.—He had attended most of the diets and conferences held on the subject of religion; and, in particular, had been Bucer's coadjutor in his disputations with Malvenda, at Ratisbon, in 1546.¹

A. D.
1558.

The death of Melancthon himself, as we shall see, took place in 1560.

Joachim Morlin, first driven from Prussia for his opposition to Osiander,² but afterwards recalled and made a bishop there; John Auri-
faber³ late of Breslaw, but now of Jena; Paul Eber,⁴ successor to Forster in the citadel church, and afterwards to Justus Jonas as chief pastor of Wittemberg; John Brentius formerly of Halle in Suabia, but latterly of Stutgard; John Pfeffinger of Leipsic; and George Major of Wittemberg⁵ survived to a later period, and died between the years 1566 and 1574. Some account of each of them is given by Melchior Adam. The persecutions which Brentius suffered on account of the Interim have been already noticed. His history furnishes a warning to students, he having contracted a distressing and injurious habit of sleeplessness, which continued to the end of his days, by

Morlin.

Aurifaber.

Pfeffinger.

Brentius.

¹ Melch. Ad. i. 154—156.

² Vol. i. 477, 563.

³ Ib. 435, 436.

⁴ Above, p. 115.

⁵ Vol. i. 455.

CHAP.
XI.

Eber.

accustoming himself to rise soon after midnight to pursue his studies.—Eber excites our sympathy, by having been crippled in early youth by a fall, the circumstances of which were concealed from his parents, and the opportunity thus lost of using means which might have prevented or alleviated its consequences. He lived, however, to become not only a very excellent, but an eminent and highly useful character.—For Major a painful interest is excited by his heavy domestic afflictions ; which he bore with Christian constancy and resignation.

Major.

Conclusion.

The notice of these excellent and eminent men, (for none but eminent men have been recounted,) however brief it may have been, cannot but be gratifying, if it were only for their number—which shews how remarkably God had at that period visited his church, and replenished it with able faithful pastors, and reformers. The only circumstances which excite our regret are, finding so great a number of such men removed in the course of twenty years, and so many of them in the very midst of their days and their usefulness. The latter of these circumstances, in particular, impresses upon us the necessity of “ working while it is day,” seeing the night so soon cometh, “ wherein no man can work.” But the Son of God “ holdeth the stars—the angels of the churches—in his right hand,” and disposeth of them as seemeth him good.—We cannot however but feel and lament, that the succession of men coming up in the Lutheran church were deteriorating, and attained not the level of their predecessors in simplicity and devotedness. Many of them were turning aside to vain jangling. We shall therefore gladly withdraw our attention from

scenes of growing secularity and contention, to fix it again on those earlier stages of a reformed church, which we may hope to find marked with greater spirituality. One or two other subjects must however detain us somewhat longer, in winding up this account of the Lutheran reformation, before we turn to that effected in other quarters by the agency of Zuinglius, OEcoulampadius, and Calvin.

A. D.
1555.

CHAPTER XII.

REMAINDER OF MELANCTHON'S LIFE—HIS LETTERS—HIS COMMON PLACES.

Remaining
transac-
tions of Me-
lancthon.

THE character and services of Melancthon, his intimate connexion with the reformation during the whole of its progress, and the leading station which he occupied ever after the death of Luther, all peculiarly intitle him to our high regard, and render it proper that we should not quit this portion of our history, without attending him to the close of his course—though it somewhat outran the limit which we have otherwise assigned ourselves. Some further notice also of certain parts of his writings will be found interesting and instructive.

Melancthon survived the peace of religion five years, which were laboriously employed, as the preceding thirty-seven had been, in the service of sound learning and divine truth. He continued to the last involved in those controversies, which we have noticed as dividing and deforming the Lutheran church after the death of its founder: but our notice of his writings in that department has been already so far extended into these last years of his life, that we shall have little occasion to trouble the reader further respecting them. In this his closing stage we find him, from the change of circumstances produced by the peace now established, less engaged than formerly in pub-

he negotiations in the cause of religion. Still however he was not without employment of that kind. In 1555 he went to Nuremberg, accompanied by Ales and Camerarius, for the purpose of endeavouring to settle the divisions which had been occasioned in that city by the dogmas of Osiander; and his exertions were crowned with success. He comprised in a clear and pacific paper, in which no censure was passed upon any individual, the doctrines to be approved or disapproved on the points at issue; and this paper he submitted to the clergy of the place, begging them freely to canvass it, that they might, if possible, come to agreement upon it, and then, "by common consent, exhibit an instance of that unanimity which the Son of God had so ardently prayed for on behalf of his church." The proceeding was the happiest issue, in the restoration of peace among the pastors and religious communities of that city.¹

A. D.
1556.

His Visit to
Nuremberg
1555.

In the year 1557 the vain attempt was once more renewed, by a public conference held at Worms, under the presidency of Julius Pflug, to reconcile the existing religious differences of the protestants and Roman catholics; and Melancthon was deputed to the meeting by Augustus elector of Saxony. But the conference was soon terminated by the Romanists first demanding, as a measure preliminary to the discussion of any form of concord, that all Zuinglians, Osiandrists, and Flacians should be condemned by name; and the deputies from the princes of Saxe-Weimar (the sons of John Frederic) requiring that all adiaphorists, syner- gists, Majorists, and others of a like descrip-

Conference
of Worms.
1557.

¹ Camer. Vit. Mel. § 103. Melanc. Concil. ii. 208–216. Mel. Epist. ii. 61.

tion, should be included with the Zuinglians in this condemnation. It was probably the design of the papists by their proposal to divide the protestants; an object in which the deputies from Weimar, who were favourable to Flacius, unwittingly seconded them. Hence no point appears to have come under discussion in this conference, beyond the great principle of the rule of judgment—which Melancthon and his friends maintained to be the scriptures alone.¹

Death of
his wife.

In an interval of this conference, while a deputation was sent to king Ferdinand to learn his pleasure concerning the course of procedure, Melancthon accepted an invitation from Otto Henry elector Palatine, to visit Heidelberg, in order to arrange with James Miccyllus a plan for the conduct of the university now established there. While at this place, he received the melancholy intelligence of the death of his wife, with whom he had lived in harmony and happiness for thirty-seven years. His friend Camerarius came over to Heidelberg to communicate the painful tidings to him; which he did while they were together in the elector's gardens. The good man, as one wearied with the struggles of life, and anticipating his own departure, though much affected at the intelligence, made scarcely any other remark at the time than this, "I shall soon follow her."²

1558.

The next year, he again maintained the protestant cause against Staphylus and Avius, the former of whom was an apostate from Lutheranism—once the pupil and disciple, and after-

¹ Cam. Vit. Mel. § 106, 108. Mel. Consil. ii. 286—316. Cox's Life of Melanc. p. 523, 2nd edit.

² Cam. Vit. Mel. § 107.

wards the malignant enemy of Melancthon.¹— Besides his writings,—which, we are told, were chiefly the product of early morning hours²— Melancthon still persevered in his indefatigable labours as a professor in the university: in which character he had been accustomed to deliver two, and often three, or even four lectures in the day. His last lecture, in which he explained part of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, was given April 12, 1560. He had been previously at Leipsic, attending an annual examination of the students in the university of that place, and had taken cold on his return. Intermitting fever now came on. He still however continued to write; and he wished again to lecture on the fourteenth of April, but was prevented by his friend Camerarius, who had come from Leipsic to visit him, on account of his illness. With him he discoursed on the words of the apostle, “Having a desire to depart, and be with Christ, which is far better.” On the eighteenth day of the month he attempted to write out his will afresh, but was unable to finish it. In what he did put down, however, he observed, that “he wished to have what he had written in opposition to the papists, anabaptists, Flacians, and others in his reply to the Bavarian Articles,³ considered as the confession of his faith.” The next day, about six o’clock in the evening he expired in peace, offering up prayers and expressing kind wishes for all about him. He was sixty-three years of age, during forty-two of which he had been connected with the university of Wittenberg. On the twenty-first of April his remains were ho-

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1560.

His last
illness.

and death
1560

¹ Cam. Vit. Mel. s. 46 and 108. Mel. Consil. ii. 328—347.
Meich. Ad. iv. 93. See the close of this chapter.

nourably interred, near to those of his illustrious friend Luther, in the church of the citadel.¹

A short time before his death, he wrote, in parallel columns, a fragment of reasons why we ought not to be unwilling to die. They are apparently addressed to himself.

“ On the one hand—

You shall depart from
your sins.

You shall be released from
troubles, and from the
fierce contentions of
polemics.

“ On the other hand—

You shall come into the
light.

You shall see God.

You shall behold the Son
of God.

You shall learn those hidden mysteries which you could not in this life comprehend—Why we are in our present condition—What is the union of the two natures in the person of Christ.”²

We add the following particulars from a second life of him inserted by Melchior Adam in his biography of philosophers, in addition to that which he had given in his biography of divines.

“ He frequently in his latter years, and particularly in the last months of his life, bewailed with many tears the discords of the reformed churches, and implored in ardent prayers that God would heal these divisions. This subject seemed to be perpetually in his heart and on his tongue.—When his friend and physician Winsheim visited him, and expressed his fears, that with his feeble and reduced frame he would ill sustain the attacks of his disease, he replied,

¹ Cam. Vit. Mel. § 113. Melch. Ad. i. 169.

² Consil. ii. 396.

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with a smile, 'I desire to depart, and to be with
 t.'—To Peucer, his son-in-law, he said the
 before his death: 'My illness does not
 trouble me: I have no anxiety or matter of
 but one—that the churches may be at
 in Christ Jesus.'—He frequently before
 death repeated the Saviour's prayer, *That*
may be one in us, as we also are one; and
 entirely this sentence of S. Paul, *Christ Jesus,*
of God is made unto us wisdom, and righ-
ness, and sanctification, and redemption.—
 The time before he expired, Eber, chief
 of Wittemberg, reciting to him the
 , *As many as received him, to them gave*
power to become the sons of God; he raised
 hands and eyes, and said, 'That sentence is
 in my thoughts!'—His son-in-law having
 if he wished for any thing, he said, 'No—
 but heaven,' and begged that he might not
 interrupted.—At the close, as long as he
 articulate, he repeated the words, 'O
 compassionate me through thy Son Jesus
 t!' and again, 'In thee, O Lord, have I
 ed, let me never be confounded!'—His
 eyes were clear to the last, and his decease
 ly resembled a falling asleep." ¹

us lived, thus taught, and thus died the
 of whom Bossuet, in concluding the notice
 he thinks proper to take of him, can find
 ing better, nor any thing more correct to
 than what is contained in the following
 nce: "He was respected, as appeared, by
 church of Wittemberg, but the grievous

elch. Ad. iv. 94. Dr. Cox has given from the "Brevis
 io" of the professors of Wittemberg, published at the
 a more detailed account of Melancthon's closing
 and a very delightful account it certainly is. Life
 . c. xiii.

CHAP.
XII.

His cha-
racter.

restraints he lay under, and the measures he was forced to follow, prevented his speaking all he thought; and in this state he ended his miserable life, in 1560.”¹

Melancthon is a character with whom it is impossible to become conversant without being in danger of contracting even an excessive partiality for him. I have felt that I was exposed to this bias in writing of him: and I am aware that I have made a more favourable representation of his course, and of the ground that he occupied after the death of Luther, than is generally received: but I desire to have my statements admitted no further than they are drawn from authentic sources. I have endeavoured to trace, not from the fallacious reports of others concerning him, but from his own papers, what part he actually took in the controversies respecting the Interim, and the adiaphoristic points—which I cannot but feel confident has not been done by many who have censured him: and thus I trust I have satisfactorily vindicated him from numerous charges of pusillanimity, and unworthy concession and compromise; and have shewn that, in some of the most important cases, he was even heroically firm, where the very contrary has been imputed to him. I cannot but suppose that many, who have given currency to disadvantageous accounts of his conduct, have not had recourse to his own writings, or perhaps to other original documents: they rather seem, having heard the charges of his opponents, and considered his reputed character, to have inferred how it was *likely* that a man of his temper should act, than to have inquired how

¹ Hist. des Variat. I. viii. 41.

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1560.His alleged
timidity.

ally *did* act. Thus to apportion praise or upon speculative grounds, and not upon a real examination of facts, it is to be feared, is uncommon even with historians of reputation.—My impression is, that the fault of Melancthon's character was not, as it is commonly supposed to have been, timidity, at least a sense of a hesitation to avow his sentiments, or a dread of personal danger—for many demonstrate his bold disregard even of life in the cause which he had undertaken; rather a morbid fear of deciding amiss; a restlessness which could never satisfy itself; a fever with such an excessive, and, considering in whose hands the direction of affairs of the church is really placed, such a superfluous activity for its peace and unity, as sometimes impelled him making undue sacrifices for this its invaluable object.¹ Yet, if any imagine it was at all a part of his plan to compromise disputed points by the use of ambiguous terms, which each party might construe in its favour, I can only observe, that there is no practice against which he more frequently and more strongly protests. He was fully aware, that what is thus unsoundly healed is set out afresh with aggravated virulence. His constant maxim was, "Ambiguous terms generate new controversies."²

First pure, then peaceable."

When I wrote these observations on the alleged *timidity* of Melancthon, I was not aware what Dr. Cox had remarked on the same subject; as I purposely avoided consulting his works on this part of my work, till I had formed my own conclusions. He says: "Historians have applied" this term to Melancthon "with great incaution." "The hesitation of Melancthon in deciding upon new subjects, or in difficult cases... resulted not so much from timidity, as from conscientious scruples of mind. It was not that he feared tem-

On the whole, after reading nearly two thousand of his letters, and numerous others of his papers and writings, I confess that I cannot but regard him as one of the loveliest specimens

poral, but moral consequences." Again: "Those who are solicitous of forming a correct idea of him will rather deem it slanderous than descriptive, to call him the timid Melancthon." And subsequently, after quoting from his writings, he exclaims, "These are the words of the *wavering* and the *timid* Melancthon!" Life of Mel. pp. 216—218, 256, 459. 2d edit.—Luther, it may be remembered, wrote thus to him at Augsburg: "In private conflicts, (if my conflicts with Satan are to be called private,) I am weak and you are strong. In public ones it is the very reverse. *You despise your life, but tremble for our cause!*" Above, vol. i. 68.

It is but fair to notice in this connexion, since a more convenient one either has not occurred, or has been overlooked, a letter of Melancthon's, written in April 1548, (before the establishment of the Interim,) to Christopher Carlevitz, who is styled "a counsellor of the emperor and of the elector of Saxony," in which the writer speaks more explicitly than I have any where else found him doing, of being held under restraint by his connexion with Luther; and goes far in his concessions for the sake of peace. Yet still, we shall find, he has his points to which he is determined firmly to adhere. "Whatever the prince (Maurice) may decree," he says, "though I may not approve it all, I will do nothing seditiously, but will either keep silence, or fall under it, (cadam,) or bear what may happen. Before the present time, I bore a degree of servitude which was humiliating, (servitutem pæne deformem,) when Luther, who was not a little prone to contention, frequently rather indulged his natural temper, than considered what became his character, or might conduce to the common good. . . . But, if you say that not only silence but countenance is required of me, I doubt not that you, as a man of wisdom, consider men's dispositions, and can discern their intentions. I am not by nature contentious, and, if *any* man loves to promote social union, I do. I did not excite the existing controversies: I found them excited, and began to consider them with a simple love of truth: and, though their first mover had mingled with them some things of too harsh a nature, (materias quasdam horridiores,) yet I could not on this account reject others which were true and necessary. The latter I embraced; and by degrees succeeded in either withdrawing or softening

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of the grace of God, ever exhibited in our fallen nature. It is quite superfluous to speak of his talents, his learning, his taste—they are known and applauded by all. Luther thus broke forth respecting him when he came to Wittemberg a mere stripling—"Philip delivered an oration the fourth day after his arrival replete with learning and elegance, so as to captivate the esteem and admiration of all. We soon turned off our eyes and our thoughts from his stature and appearance, to admire the furniture of his mind." He immediately commenced courses of lectures on Homer, and on S. Paul's epistle to Titus, and then Luther was left at a loss for words to express his sentiments concerning him.¹ "He has a crowded audience," he says, "and he fires us all, from our first divines to

what was extravagant."—He then describes the odium which he had by this means incurred; but "unmoved by it," he says, "I went on to explain the doctrines of the church as correctly as I could." He had succeeded in "cutting off many hurtful questions, avoiding some rocks on which there had been danger of running foul, preventing greater discords, and promoting the peace of the church." He was still anxious to do the same; and could not think, without the deepest pain and grief, of the church being now "disturbed, either by a change of doctrine, or by the expulsion of good and upright men" from their cures. He then states, according to what we have before seen, the concessions to which he could agree, including the ecclesiastical polity, the power of bishops, "and of the supreme bishop:" in doing which he says, "Perhaps I am of a servile nature, (*ingenio servili*,) but I think it a modesty becoming good men, not to weaken the authority of our governors.... Such practices however, as you yourself have witnessed in the invocation of saints, I can never sanction.... But, if I seem to stand in the way, as a useless or pernicious incumbrance, I am willing, with the Divine aid, to add myself to the number of those who, in lighter causes than this, have valued truth above life." Ep. vi. p. 20-27.

¹ "Philippum Gracissimum, eruditissimum, humanissimum, habere commendatissimum."

our humblest students, with zeal for the study of Greek." And again : " He is a mere child, if you consider his age, but his acquaintance with all kinds of learning is astonishing."¹ Erasmus also thus wrote concerning him as early as the year 1515 : " What hopes may we not conceive of Philip Melancthon ? Though yet very young and almost a boy, he is equally to be admired for his proficiency in both languages. What quickness of invention—what purity of diction—what vastness of memory—what variety of reading—what modesty and noble gracefulness of behaviour !"—But that which peculiarly strikes me in reviewing his history is, that this most refined and gentle spirit passed more than forty years—the whole of his mature life—in almost incessant contention against corruptions and corrupters of divine truth of every description,—and that, without ever being either soured by dispute, or reduced to silence by weariness and disgust. Seldom does a sharp expression escape him, at least in any public writing, or in any address to an opponent : yet he was as assiduous, and as ready to take up his weapons to the last, as in any former period of his life. In the words of his son-in-law, Peucer, " Neither odium, danger, trouble, nor ungrateful returns induced him to throw off the burden of the service which God had assigned him, though he often complained that it was heavier than he could well bear."²

¹ Luth. Epist. Aurifabri, i. 59, 60.

² Præf. Melanc. Epist. lib. ii. Erasmus wrote of him to Julius Pflug at a much later period than that of the former extract : " He not only excels in learning, but by a certain fatality he is a general favourite. Honest and candid men are fond of him, and even his adversaries cannot hate him."

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Further ex-
tracts from
his letters.

In now taking leave of his character and history, I propose to furnish the reader with some additional extracts, chiefly from his epistles.¹ In reading over these generally simple and brief effusions, various excellent qualities of his temper and spirit must forcibly strike us: his heavenly-mindedness—his placability: his persevering diligence—his affection—his anxiety to serve his friends—his zeal for the church of Christ, and for divine truth,—as also for the promotion of education and the diffusion of knowledge—and his liberality. Most or all of these, as well as his opinions on several important topics, will receive illustration from the extracts which follow. We will arrange them under some distinct heads.

I. On public affairs, and the peace of the church..

1. On the
affairs of
the church.
Civil war.
1546.

On the approaching war of Smalkald, supposing the question asked, Would he approve it, and instigate his party to it? he wisely and piously answers, “that he would never be the instigator of civil war, even where the cause was just. Let us rather,” he says, “deplore the common calamity: let us teach that the sins of both parties are the cause of it: let

¹ There appear to have been ten distinct volumes of Melancthon's epistles published: the first by Manlius, in 1565; the second and fourth by Peucer, in 1565 and 1570; the third by Camerarius, in 1569, consisting of letters addressed to the editor; the fifth and sixth by Pezelius, in 1589 and 1590; the seventh, eighth, and ninth by Saubertus, in 1640, 1645, and 1646; and the tenth by Frederic Spanheim, though anonymously, in 1647. The folio edition, London, 1642, contains only the second, third, fourth, and sixth of these volumes. The fifth, seventh, eighth, and ninth, I have not seen. Neither his epistles nor his declamations, &c. (the latter amounting to five volumes octavo,) appear to have been comprehended in the edition of his works in four volumes folio, published at Wittenberg, 1562—1564.

us exhort the people to implore Almighty God, with ardent supplication, to send a safe and religious peace: let us intreat those in power to employ their influence for this purpose. All this will be becoming and useful." Alluding to the pretence made by the emperor's party, that the war was not waged against their religion, he says: "God knows what is really their object. If they are guilty of falsehood in their professed intentions, it is no crime, however it may be a weakness, in us to believe them; and God will punish their deceit."¹

Unity.
1550.

The opening of a letter to Paul Rhodius of Stettin, and the other Pomeranian pastors, in which he kindly pleads in behalf of Artopæus, who had been banished from among them for maintaining the dogma of Osiander, but had now softened down or altered his opinion, is striking. "Reverend and dear brethren, No more ardent voice was ever heard in heaven or in earth, than that of the Son of God, pleading, before he suffered, that the Eternal Father would sanctify his church through the truth, and make it one in Him. It is the prayer of the Son of God that the truth may be known, and peace preserved in his church: that there may ever be a portion, at least, of mankind by whom God may be rightly worshipped.—To this prayer of our great High Priest, the Son of God, we join our earnest supplications, that God would preserve truth and peace in your churches, and in our's The churches subsisting among you were organized by Bugenhagen and myself: we have therefore a peculiar desire for their constant peace and purity, that they and we may at length give thanks

¹ Consil. i. 664-5.

together for ever in the blessed society of the heavenly world." ¹

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1560.

1546.

A letter to Andrew Musculus, of Francfort on the Oder,² displays a fine spirit of frankness, moderation, and charity. On the recommendation of Melancthon, it seems, Musculus had received his doctor's degree: yet, having embraced certain ascetic, and it is to be feared self-righteous notions, he was now condemning the whole body of the Lutheran divines, for not inculcating fasting, to the extent of abstinence from food for two or three days together. On such grounds he ventured to affirm, "that among them men were not instructed in the doctrine of repentance." Nay, he even pronounced them, in certain respects, 'worse than idolaters.' Melancthon mildly combats the errors of Musculus; observes concerning his severe sentences, "To say the least, you pronounce too harshly;" yet still expresses his affection for him; and observes, "I think all teachers of religion who agree in their main doctrines, ought to be friends, though they may not express themselves in the same way in explaining particular points . . . I am not so bigoted and selfish that I can allow no one to differ from me."³

In two distinct letters to our Cranmer, in the year 1548, (in one of which he commends to his protection the son of Justus Jonas, and in the other the son of Justus Menius,) he highly approves the primate's purpose of drawing up articles of religion, and urges him to execute his design with all possible exactness, using the advice of the ablest men, who should in the

Articles of Religion.

¹ Epist. i. 77.

² Not to be confounded with the well-known Wolfgang Musculus of Augsburg, afterwards of Bern.

³ Const. i. 654.

end sanction what was agreed upon with their signatures. "Nothing," he says, "can be more important than a measure of this kind, which will produce a noble testimony to the true doctrine, in the sight of all nations, and hand it down to posterity as a rule which they may follow. Such a confession of faith, prepared among you, will not differ much from our's. There are a few points, however, on which I could wish it to be a little more explicit,¹ for fear that ambiguous expressions should give occasion to fresh disputes."—He then adverts to the proceedings of the emperor respecting the Interim: "He is forming a scheme for the termination of our controversies, which he may perhaps publish: but, as his plan is to unite the parties by the use of general terms, to which neither can object, [but which determine nothing,] he will only excite further contentions. At the same time, he will confirm existing abuses.—In the church we should by all means call things by their true names:² by any other means we only throw in the apple of discord among the guests. If among us unanimity had existed in our churches, we should not have been exposed to our present calamities.—By all means therefore pursue your intention. If you ask my opinion and concurrence, I will most readily both give my own sentiments, with the grounds of them, and listen to those of others—men of learning and piety. May truth and the glory of God, and the good of the church, and not any private affections, evermore prevail!"³

¹ Magis explicatos—"more fully to explain them." He does not specify these points.

² Scapham scapham—"a spade a spade."

³ Epist. i. 66. iii. 42.

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1560.

that he thus writes to Cranmer corresponds the earnest wishes, which he elsewhere freely expresses concerning the protestant churches at large. "Would to God that the times were such, that a number of experienced and learned men might meet and consult together on the doctrines to be maintained!—men who should bring to the church, not mutual estrangements, not dissension, not ignorance, not arrogance, not schism, not the vain desires of contention and victory; but the fear of God, learning, love of truth, care to cherish and promote the spirit of prayer, modesty, candour, and love one towards another, a readiness to be convinced themselves, as well as a wish to convince others.¹ In such an assembly, the Word and Son of the eternal Father should be the hearts of all concerned, and the holy scriptures were made the rule of their decisions, nothing might be happily settled in the churches, both for the present age and for eternity."²

We will next give some extracts illustrating of his temper in private life, and his sentiments respecting its several relations.

First, not those which he expresses concerning marriage and the female sex be thought worthy of a place here. Thus he writes to a friend who had just formed this union.—Augustinus³ calls the married state 'a divinely instituted school of human life.' The truth and importance of this representation might be the theme of a long discourse. The establishment of such an order of things, and the necessity of adhering to it for the well-being

2. On
private life

Marriage.

¹ *μὴν κρίνειν, τὰ δὲ κρίνεται.*

² Consil. ii. 206.

³ professor at Jena, and an elegant Latin poet.

of society, attest the government of God, and illustrate his character. The preservation of human society demonstrates the presence of God with us : and those who live holily in wedlock find the proofs of that presence on many trying occasions. This state brings with it the exercise of numerous virtues. That you have determined therefore to comply with this divine appointment is a thing pleasing to God : and I pray him to bestow upon you and your wife happiness in your union.”—To another expresses himself still more strongly : “ I commend your choosing this state of life, and wish you every blessing in it. Married life appears to me a sort of philosophical discipline training persons to honourable duties, worthy of the good and wise. Few unmarried people are affected as they ought to be towards the public good, and perceive what are really the most important objects in life.”¹

He is much pleased with Pythagoras's remark on the husband's receiving his bride from the altar, as if to remind him, that, like a suppliant who had taken refuge there, she had a religious claim to his protection, and that the Deity would avenge his infringement of his duty to her. Then, glancing at an union of which that of marriage is the scriptural emblem, he says—“ And such, most strictly, is the character under which the church is led to her husband Christ, as a suppliant” whom he receives in the honourable relation of his spouse.—“ O daughters also,” he affectionately and piously remarks, “ will be (like suppliants at the altar) the objects of divine care and protection. *The generation of the righteous shall be blessed*

¹ Epist. ii. 403, 607.

and awaits the children of the pious, of which
 we have no assurance.'"¹—At this very
 time, as we shall see, he had painful occasion
 to recur to such consolations.

Again: "I am quite indignant at those
 anthropic beings who think it a proof of
 wisdom to despise the female sex. Grant that
 we have their weaknesses: we also have our
 strengths. . . . If we have superior force, let us
 use it in protecting, not in insulting them.
 Though many unfeeling spirits may neglect
 their duties, God shews in his providence a
 peculiar care of the feeble part of the species.
 Birds build their nests for their mates and their
 young: and in like manner cities are fortified,
 the labour of governing and defending
 is undertaken, for the sake of women and
 children, rather than of men. As often then
 you look upon a house or a city, reflect that
 they were erected for the mothers of
 children. And, if God in his providence
 made such provision for your wife, (now in
 confinement,) that governments, magis-
 trates, workmen, houses, cities, castles are all
 subservient to her benefit, do not think it bur-
 some to bear your part of the common
 charge, by attending assiduously upon her.—
 Finally, since marriage presents an image of
 the love of the Son of God to his church, let
 the calls made upon you in domestic life re-
 mind you, that he has the same care for the
 church under all her weaknesses, which you
 feel for your wife.—For my part I have
 a thought of composing a *history of heroic*
women—women who have endured great afflic-
 tions with piety and firmness. The trials of my

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1547.

¹ Luc. x. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. is a verse
 which he much delights in.—Epist. vi. p. 130-1

CHAP.
XII.

own family have suggested this to me : for the temper of mind manifested by my dear daughter has been the great alleviation of the bitter grief occasioned me by her calamity. She has ever exhorted me to bear it with greater fortitude ; for that it was her determination to submit to the will of God in all that he might see good to lay upon her.—May he succour both her, and you, and us all against our adversary the devil, and apply a healing balm to the poisonous bites of the old serpent.”¹

Parents and
Children.

He often speaks beautifully, and with evident delight, of the affection of parents to their children ; considering it as purposely calculated to give us an idea of the regard which God—“the Father of spirits”—bears to us. Thus he writes to one friend, “I doubt not that God will preserve the remnant of his church in these countries : and in that hope you may indulge more heart-felt joy in the birth of your son. I rejoice at the event for your father's sake—and your father-in-law's sake—and your own sake ; and that you may all, while you kiss the dear infant with parental tenderness, think of the love (στοργή) which God bears towards us.” And to another : “Withdraw your mind as much as possible from painful subjects of reflection, and refresh yourself with the sweets of domestic society : and, when you feel such affection to your children, think that God has impressed this upon us as an image of his own mind towards us.”²

Much wisdom, as well as tenderness and piety, seems to be displayed in a letter which he wrote to Jerome Camerarius,³ on an attachment formed by a daughter of the latter, which,

¹ Epist. vi. p. 459, 460—abridged.

² Epist. ii. 351. vi. p. 143.

³ Brother of Joachim.

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ough apparently not fixed on any unworthy
ect, was not agreeable to her father. He
ninds him, that our trials are often aggra-
ed by the irritation of our minds, and by
adopting harsh measures : that, in the case
our children especially, something is to be
mitted of what we might strictly insist upon,
d some indulgence granted to their weakness.
had known, he says, many instances in
ich the happiness of families had been se-
red by mild proceedings, or destroyed by
ere ones. He would have his friend there-
e not offer undue violence to his daughter's
inations : and he adds, " It is not merely
turn of mind which makes me give this
vice : I am moved by this weighty consider-
on, that all our worldly concerns are trivial,
mpared with the right practice of devotion,
d maintaining communion with God. Let us
all things so govern ourselves, that neither
own prayers, nor the prayers of those
o are dear to us, may be hindered. Let me
reat you therefore to behave mildly to your
ughter ; that she may serve God with a quiet
nd—which will also conduce to your own
ice and comfort. I am a father, and know
heart of a father."

Epist. iv. 675.—We may here observe, that the
teen letters in the second book of Melancthon's
ed epistles are addressed to a family, and are written
on he constantly calls " Christianus domesticus
John." They bear a strong testimony to the
be servant, and the minister of the church
th of John. — Melancthon writes the funeral
funeral, delivered at the funeral of the
ed an epistle in Latin, which he has
ch he speaks of a minister in the church.

— A. D. 1560. —
AND THE FIRST PART OF THE

CHAP.
XII.3. On
afflictions.Death of
N. Haus-
man.

III. That piety of the writer's mind, which gives so religious a turn to all these subjects, will appear still more conspicuous where the *afflictions and death* of his friends are concerned.

The death of the excellent Nicholas Hausman,¹ in the year 1538, seems to have deeply affected both Luther and Melancthon. "Dr. Martin," says Melancthon, "passed the whole of yesterday in tears. I know not what sort of a night has followed so sad a day. He bewails not our departed friend, but the church which has lost so invaluable a pastor.—But let us remember, Hausman is not dead, but is removed from all the troubles of life to immortality. And, though there is reason to grieve for the church, yet Christians must not sink under their grief, but raise and confirm their minds by means of prayer to our Lord Jesus Christ."—And still more strikingly, in another letter on the same event, he says: "Reflecting on the decease of Hausman, I feel as on the dismissal of friends home from a foreign land to our common native country. Their departure awakens all my own love for that country, and I desire to go with them to those better habitations—to rise to that eternal world of light, where we may enjoy God, at a distance from all sin, and error, and darkness.—I beseech you therefore refrain your grief, and think of serving the church committed to your care. In battle, soldiers must not let their courage fail because they see their comrades fall around them: but rather succeed to their places. So let us not desert the post assigned us, but pray that God will vouchsafe to be with us."³

¹ Vol. i. 131-2.² Epist. ii. 280—282.

To his friend Matthesius, on the deformity of his son. "Reverend and dear brother, Often in praying for my daughter, under great distress, I thought parental affection had been implanted in our breasts, to remind us of the love of God towards his only-begotten Son, and towards us. But this affection is especially called forth under afflictive circumstances. I doubt not therefore the grief which you and your dear wife feel for the deformity of your child. Yet Adam, and Eve, and David suffered still severer wounds: and think what anguish pierced the soul of the blessed virgin!—I purpose shortly to publish your discourse: and I mean to weave into it the doctrine of consolation under affliction, and of the distinction between philosophical and evangelical consolation."¹

A. D.
1560.

Matthesius's Son.

To Pfeffinger, on the death of his son. "It is the will of God that we should mourn at the loss of those who have been dear to us; and in our grief he approves our piety. In proportion also to the excellence of a man's nature is the strength of his affections.² I can conceive therefore the depth of your grief for the loss of your son. And I blame not your feelings; but rather sympathise with them, both for your sake and that of the public.—Yet consider, that God hath commanded us both to grieve and to moderate our grief. Let us first remember that these events are all ordered by

Death of
Pfeffinger's
Son:

¹ Epist. ii. 88.

² In the next letter, on the death of Osiander's wife, he says: "Those stoical precepts, which forbid us to grieve, are not only vain but barbarous and unjust, and are condemned by that *Christian philosophy* which we would cultivate: for God abhors those that are *without natural affection*."

CHAP.
XII.

the divine counsel, and that our minds must be bowed into submission to God. Then let us consider, not what we have lost, but to what blessedness your excellent son is called away from what a miserable world, and at what time. We ought to congratulate him on being advanced to the heavenly society, where he drinks no more, as we do, of polluted streams but of the pure and inexhaustible fountain of wisdom: where he hears the Son of God, the prophets and the apostles; and gives thanks to God with ineffable joy. Thinking on this state, we could wish at once to fly to it, and leave the comparative dungeon in which we live. Your grief is increased, perhaps, by reflection on the genius, the attainments, and the virtues of your son. But this reflection ought not to assuage your grief. He lived to good purpose while he lived. You saw the evidence of his piety shining forth in his life and in his death—such as demonstrated that eternal life was begun in him, and that his removal has been to heavenly bliss. As often as you think of his endowments, give thanks to God who shewed such favour both to you and to him. A grateful mind will remember its mercies as well as its trials If you are at present compelled to spend some months at a distance from your family, amidst rude and unfriendly companions, the thoughts of returning home alleviate your uneasiness. So bear your bereavement with moderated feelings because in a little time you shall go and see your son in that blessed society, and see him adorned with higher honours than he could here receive, and associated with the glorious companions. There you shall be with him to all eternity, enjoying the v

A. D.
1560.

God, and the most blessed intercourse with Christ and all his servants. On this state let fix our eyes during our troublesome sojourn here: let us bear up the more cheerfully, knowing that our course is short, and that we are ordered for spending eternity with God, and for the fleeting gratifications of this life.—
 y God support you in body and mind—according to that sentence, “*In him we live, move, and have our being.*”¹

We have given an extract from a letter to some Camerarius, concerning his daughter, written in August 1545: before the end of that year Melancthon had to address Joachim Camerarius on his brother Jerome's death—an event which, viewed in the connexion in which it is presented to us, impresses us with the reality of so many of our hopes, and fears, and anxieties. Melancthon says: “I sincerely loved your brother, not only because I love him, but for the sake of his genius, his goodness, his weight of character, his moderation of mind, and because, as I saw him relying on God in his troubles, I could not doubt that he was himself beloved of God. I grieve therefore that he is taken from us.—But what do I say, I *loved* him? Nay, I still love him: for he dwells with the Son of God; and with Abraham, and Joseph, and David, and John Baptist, and S. Paul; and sees them face to face who are the judges of the conflicts in which we are engaged. I hope I shall join that blessed company a short time before you.”

So far am I from shrinking at the prospect of quitting my imprisonment here, that, inasmuch as I think of the employments of the

Of Jerome
Camerarius:¹ Epist. i. 97.

CHAP.
XII.

blessed society, the desire to join them glows within me I am no stranger to the contemplation of death. But God would have us dwell on our miseries, but seek and expect consolation from him, who is *the God of comfort*, and who dwells with the afflicted—I have often found, in such a manner as assure me that we are not left to the government chance.”¹

Of Geo.
Heltus:

1545.
March 9.

In our former volume a letter of Luther's was inserted² on the death of Heldus, or Heltus, who had been preceptor to Cruciger, Camerarius and prince George of Anhalt. Melancthon has two interesting letters on the same event which may deserve to be abstracted in this place. The first is addressed to George of Anhalt. “When tidings were brought me of the death of Heltus I was confounded: and I soon discovered that my grief was shared by all good men; for no one knew him without loving him. How much more then will you feel his loss. How will you miss him in your deliberations and friendly meetings The breast of our deceased friend glowed with the love of the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ so that he thought all the concerns of this life insignificant, and laboured to spread the gospel. At the same time he was adorned with all other graces which ought to be found in the members of Christ. He was wise and faithful, and successful too, in his conduct and his counsels: and therefore I doubt not that God was his director. And now he is called hence to join the heavenly society, and enjoy ineffable converse with God and with Christ with the apostles and prophets, and with you

¹ Epist. iv. 687.

² Vol. i. 517.

mother also. Let us congratulate him
 ing gained the harbour; and think of
 aring him company there.—You are
 painted with the remedies against grief;
 ve thought it might not be without its
 recount some of them at this time.—
 n was snatched away from David in a
 ore painful way than our brother has
 ken from us. Though he quitted us
 than we could have wished, yet he
 d amid the embraces of his friends.
 pray that God would supply his place
 suitable successor. The Son of God,
 s at the right hand of the eternal Father,
 s, amid the gifts which he bestows upon
 o send able pastors and teachers to his
 —Your highness's most devoted, Philip
 thon."

other letter on the same occasion is to
 n Camerarius.—"For six years I enjoyed
 ndship of Heltus. He often discoursed
 e on public affairs, and entered into
 s concerning the genuine worship of
 nd I can truly say, that, instructed by
 ning and piety, I was enabled to treat
 oints more correctly than before. Well
 g therefore his integrity, and the useful
 ppy course of his life, I mourn his loss;
 it still more for the sake of the public,
 rticularly of the churches of Misnia,
 ren for my own. Your feeling on the
 n, looking back to him as your early
 tor, will be still deeper. But let us
 course to the consolations of God. You
 ow great was the darkness of philosophy
 causes of death and other calamities,
 the proper resources under such events.
 us God hath come forth from his secret

CHAP.
XII.

places, and hath himself audibly proclaimed to us why our frail and feeble nature is exposed to so many evils; and hath declared that he will not forsake his church under them. Thus instructed, let us support ourselves on all occasions.—My sadness has been deepened by hearing of the cruelties practised in the Netherlands. The preacher in the French church at Strasburg, a learned and blameless man, has been put to death. Another minister has suffered at Brussels; and a noble matron with her two daughters at Deventer. Other like occurrences are reported: I wish that leading persons might lay them to heart.¹—Our Spaniard has returned to us,² preserved by a special interposition of providence. I have desired him to write his story, which we will bring you.—In the midst of such sufferings of the church at large, let us bear our burdens patiently; let us acknowledge the causes of our calamities, and implore a mitigation of them, as the prophets often did. *In the midst of wrath remember mercy: suffer not thy whole displeasure to arise: save the remnant of thy people: cast us not off among the ungodly: make thine anger towards us to cease!*—I will explain to you the real causes of my anxiety when we meet.”³

Of Æpinus's
wife:

On Æpinus pastor of Hamburg, who had lost his wife in childbed, he urges many of the same topics, entering with deep sympathy into the aggravations of his affliction, arising from the circumstances of his wife's death, and

¹ Compare vol. i. 433.

² “Hispanus Franciscus.” Melancthon wrote from Worms. Compare vol. i. 410.

³ Epist. iv. 662, 663. On the closing sentence, compare above, vol. i. 409, &c.

A. D.
1540.

Various reasons which had seemed to render her society indispensable to him. But conscientiously unable, at the distance at which he was placed, to render him any other services on this afflictive occasion, he says, "I have recourse to that which is the most efficacious of all—prayer that the Lord Jesus Christ, the fountain and restorer of life, would comfort you by his Holy Spirit, and preserve the church, both in your house and in your city."—He leads him to seek the true remedy of his sorrows in anticipating a reunion with his excellent departed wife, in that state in which he should "converse with her on the wisdom of God, the elementary knowledge of which she had learned from him on earth."—He concludes with mentioning the case of a friend, who had found a cheering relief under deep affliction, occasioned by the death of a son, in opening, by apparent accident, on the words, "He hath made us, and not we ourselves." "This single reference to divine providence, the afflicted person said, seemed to kindle a heavenly light within, which diffused peace through his breast."¹

To Gerbelius, on the death of his son. "I deeply sympathise with you, and should gladly comfort you: but all other topics than those which the divine word furnishes are frigid and empty. Among those of an availing kind one is, that God has repeatedly taught us, that his church must bear the cross, and the reasons why it must do so. He has exercised the great luminaries of his church, and above them all their great Head, his beloved Son, with severe sufferings. As therefore we know the will of God, and are assured what the issue shall be,

Of Gerbelius's Son.

¹ Epist. i. 96.

we must do as St. Peter charges us, *humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God*—that mighty hand which not only subverts prosperity, but also wonderfully supports and delivers his people in adversity, beyond their expectation. Let us obey God therefore, and *not faint when we are rebuked of him*.—I have been frequently called to mourn the death of beloved friends within the last two years. I lately lost my sister, and my sister-in-law, my brother's wife: also Capito, and Grynæus, and his son. I could recount a longer catalogue than I could well bear to review, were I not convinced that we must submit to God; and likewise that my departed friends are not lost, but still contemplate, with far higher advantage and delight, those truths which we imperfectly discussed together in this state of comparative darkness.—Think thus my friend, that you shall again embrace your departed wives and children: that you shall conduct your son through the glorious company of the prophets and apostles, and recal to his mind what you taught him concerning them, and hear the doubtful points of their respective histories cleared up by themselves in person. You shall hear the Son of God himself speaking to you. You shall see your sainted wives conversing with Eve, and Sarah, and other holy women of old times. As often as I indulge these reflections, I feel the ardent desire of mingling with the blessed company.¹—You remember Socrates

¹ “Academy” is his usual word on such occasions. The society of learned and holy men, engaged in the pursuit and dissemination of divine truth, had been his delight on earth; and he seems to image to himself the society of the same characters, transferred to the heavenly world, and still having the same object at heart—only now become “the spirits of just men made perfect.”

A. D.
1560.

that nothing could be more delightful to
if the souls of men really live hereafter,
to depart out of this life, and to join
sages and other sages, and to learn from
the things of which he was here left in
: If to him the thought of death was
ated by that obscure and uncertain hope,
ought we to be affected, who assuredly
: that we are formed for the presence of
himself, and that by his Son, our great
Priest, our forfeited inheritance is restored
?—I have not written to instruct you ; but
as I hoped the converse of a friend might
in a time be soothing to you.—Farewell.”¹
The affliction which Melancthon himself
suffered on account of a beloved daughter has
repeatedly referred to : and with some
distinct notice of her history we will
give these extracts relative to cases of suffering
grief.

Melancthon's
family.

Melancthon had two sons and two daughters.
Concerning the sons I find nothing recorded.²
His younger daughter was married to Caspar
Cruciger, a man of great eminence as a physician,
philosopher, and a philosopher. He was also a
pious labourer and a great sufferer in the
cause with his father-in-law : being much
persecuted by the divines of Jena and Weimar,
subjected by the elector Augustus to a
severe imprisonment of ten years contin-
ued, chiefly on the ground of his hav-
ing advanced Luther's doctrine of the com-
munion in the eucharist.³ The elder daughter
was an elegant and accomplished young woman
who reflected the image of her father's

Epist. vi. p. 39.

It seems probable they died in early life.” Co-
losheim iv. 49. Melch. Adam.

and was a great favourite with him. She was married at a very early age to George Sabinus, a pupil of her father's, not unworthy of his master, as far as intellectual endowments were concerned,¹ but a stranger to his meekness and moderation of mind. Sabinus, flattered in early life by the attentions paid him by the great and the learned both in Germany and Italy, cherished ambitious aims, and in consequence expected services from his father-in-law in promoting his advancement, which it was neither in Melancthon's power, nor agreeable to his views, to render. Disappointed of his hopes in this respect, he removed, in the year 1544, much against Melancthon's wishes, into Prussia, to take the superintendence of the new academical institution which Albert of Brandenburg was then forming at Königsberg. This proved a final removal of his wife from her father's presence. She seems to have been by no means kindly treated by her husband, and she died three years afterwards at her new place of residence, leaving behind her three daughters and an infant son.² These occurrences inflicted a deep wound on the tender heart of Melancthon. He however not only took on himself the charge of his grandchildren's education, but behaved with great kindness to Sabinus. The latter returned from Prussia in 1553, and settled at Francfort on the Oder; and he is spoken of as spending his remaining days us-

¹ He was much distinguished as a Latin poet: and "he became successively professor of the Belles Lettres, at Francfort on the Oder, rector of the new academy at Königsberg, and counsellor to the elector of Brandenburg." Cox, p. 138. Melch. Adam gives a life biography of German Philosophers.

² Mel. Epist. iv. 750.

and piety, and ending them in a earnest
being a sincere Christian. In the year 1540,
the following are extracts from Melancthon's
as relative to these affairs.

A.D.
1540

Babines aims to get to court. This is his
et. Perhaps he is not disinclined to re-
my daughter to a greater distance from

1544

But I check myself: I commend her to
I reflect how the mother of John the
baptist, and Mary the mother of our Lord, and
other pious women were preserved: and
at a time when Syria was overrun by
Arabian, Roman, and Herodian troops.... I
remember once when she was ill, in her infancy,
I have found my mind suddenly and effectually
troubled under my anxieties about her, by the
simple reflection, She is the object of the divine
love!.... Though I grieve to have my daughter
removed so far from me, yet, amid so many
other miseries, I must bear this private affliction
with submission. The thought of her
often soothes my sadness. I commend
her to God!"—He then relates a little incident
from her early years, which had made a lasting
impression on his memory and his heart. "I
was holding her in my arms in the morning,
when she had only her night-gown on. She
had her eyes closed, and her hands were
pressed against her cheeks, and
her little action of her's so penetrated my soul.
I could not but think it significant."

He then says: "So the mother, with her two little
children, follows her husband, full of sadness, and
hoping miscarriage to death, as the con-
sequence of the God of the Son
of God, who has said to me, all ye
that are weary and I will give
rest. The whole

proceeding is strange.—But I am now drawn up for him¹ a scheme for the regulation of the university.”—Elsewhere, alluding to the trouble which the marriage of his daughter had brought both upon her and himself, he says, “*But I bear the indignation of the Lord, because I sinned against him.*”

1547.

On receiving the sad tidings of her death, he wrote the following letter to her husband.—Doubt not you yourself feel that the force of paternal affection is great. You will readily believe me then, when I say that I loved my daughter Ann most dearly. Having therefore formed a high opinion of you from your abilities as a writer, as did also many other competent judges, I willingly gave her to you, praying that the connexion might be happy and prosperous. As however we are taught by the heavenly doctrine what are the causes and the remedies of human afflictions, let us endeavour wisely to receive what has now befallen us.—Though I am in the deepest distress for my daughter's death, and because it took place when she was so far removed from her parents' embraces, when I had no opportunity of conversing with her on the most important topics, yet I will comfort myself before my mind those consolations which God has graciously provided for us. Among these the chief is, that my dear daughter previously exhibited sure signs of love to God: on this ground I trust that she now enjoys his blessed presence, and that of his Son our Lord Jesus Christ,—to whom I often commended her in tears: and in that presence it is my hope soon to embrace her again.—But now I am comforted that our friendship should remain unbroken.

¹ Sabinus.

A. D.
1560.

will do all in my power to preserve it. children I account as my own. They are : and I love them as I loved their mother. e was devoted to her children : and I to catch her feelings towards them. I nly advise you, but I earnestly entreat o send the little girls to me—one or both m.¹ They shall be faithfully and tenderly d up in the knowledge of God, and in ing duties, as their sister is. Her letters u will be a proof of her progress. Little t, I take for granted, is committed to a r nurse. May God preserve him ! . . . The rs of the war do not at all prevent my ng to see all my family gathered round me. in his mercy has protected us hitherto, e will, I trust, yet preserve us : and, if nstances require, I will not neglect to those about me in a situation of greater ity.—But let me know what you resolve respecting your daughters.”

is letter indicates a mind full of affection, at the same time, I think, in some degree ting itself to the less ardent sensibilities of respondent. Some sentences, addressed to ential friends, depict in a more vivid man- he depth of the writer's grief. To Eber ys, “ I send you the account of my daugh- death, the reading of which so increases rief that I fear its effects on my health. e before my eyes her gesture, when, on g asked what she would have said to her ita, she replied only by tears : - ens recollections which harrow

Sen omnes, seu aliquas.” This would — ar number of daughters than she appear ps he includes the eldest, who, as the — was already with her grandfather.

feelings. But I recur to the consolations which God has proposed to us.—Compassion for son-in-law also now effaces from my mind remembrance of past offences.” In a subsequent letter he says again: “That silence my daughter—those tears have inflicted an incurable wound on my heart.” Yet he adds, “grief for our public calamities¹ even surpasses that which I feel for my domestic affliction.—To Cruciger he writes: “I loved my daughter with that affection which God has implanted in our nature, and that, quickened by thought of the sad situation² to which she was reduced—especially as it threw her virtues into shade. Her premature death being now added to the calamity, my grief is deep. I blame my own negligence for having thrown her into such circumstances. Yet, since for ten years together³ I daily commended her to God with many tears, and the care of God for her has strikingly discovered to me, I judge that he has removed her out of life in order to relieve her from her troubles: and this thought in some degree reconciles my mind. I give thanks therefore to God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he hath heard my prayers, and called her to a better state.”⁴

Every Christian heart must sympathise with the sorrows and the pious resignation of the afflicted father, on this trying occasion.

IV. We may, lastly, here collect together a few brief miscellaneous notices.

¹ Probably this was written just at the period of the battle of Muhlberg. His daughter died Feb. 26, 1547.

² “*Tristissimam servitutem.*” We must suppose that his feelings rather to overcharge his language sometimes.

³ He means from the period of her marriage in 1536.

⁴ Camer. Vit. Mel. § 61, 79, 98. Mel. Epist. i. 88, ii. 121, 151, 164. iv. 318, 323, 330—332.

A. D.
1560.

His diligence and devotedness.

the indefatigable *diligence* of this spare, delicate man, for between forty and fifty-five years, in incessant lecturing; in going upon almost every branch of science and literature, and indeed upon all sorts of subjects human and divine; in corresponding with persons of all ranks and in various countries; in maintaining the most harassing controversies and disputations; and in journeying to settle churches and regulate universities; it will be superfluous to speak.¹ We will only quote a sentence or two from his letters, expressing his determination to persevere under all circumstances.

It may be observed, that among the labours of Melancthon have not been enumerated preaching or pastoral duties. It is, I have not been able to discover either from Sarius, or Melchior Adam, or Bayle, or Dr. Cox, or his own writings, that Melancthon ever took orders. He indeed, in his *Abel Redivivus*, speaks of him as having resided forty-two years at Wittenberg: "but this seems a mere assumption from his having lived and taught for that length of time. Professor Augusti, who has lately edited some of his works, says expressly, that he never preached sermons to the people in the vulgar tongue." (*Loci Communes*, Augusti, p. 194). He expounded the scriptures indeed, but this appears to have been only in the lecture-room to the students. "Lector" and "Preceptor" are terms commonly applied to him, never pastor or minister: he is called, indeed, "reverende," or "reverendissime vir;" but that amounts to no proof of his clerical character. Luther, when in his Patmos, wished him to be a priest, saying that he was virtually a priest, "etiamsi unctus non esset;" ("though his crown was not anointed with oil;") but he seems not to have complied with his wish. (Melch. Ad. i. 170.) We may add, that he married about five years before Luther, and apparently without objection; that Eckius, at the Leipsic disputation, and elsewhere, objected to him as "a grammarian and not a divine;" his epitaph says nothing of him as a priest or minister; and that no trace, as far as I have observed, appears of his ever having occupied any ecclesiastical station.

To prince George of Anhalt he writes : ‘ it is said in the Psalm, *I will sing praise to God as long as I have my being*, so let while time is allowed us, faithfully spread gospel, whether states and empires be at peace or under disturbance.” Again : “ I will serve the church by teaching necessary truths, with modesty and moderation, so long as God will give me leave. The conflicts of empires and of factions are nothing to men of our cloth. Yet again : “ I form no schemes, I have no private objects to aim at, I fortify myself with no factious adherents ; (though, if I chose the means would not be wanting ;) but, in proper place, I teach good learning, service to the public ; and now also, in my old age, I prepare for death, which cannot be far off : I pray the Son of God to make me a vessel of *mercy* ! Let others seek for power and pre-eminence : I have nothing to do with such things. The Son of God will judge of my conduct and of my intentions. He knows my desire to be, that truth may be brought to light, glory of God set forth, and his church appear in her beauty. With this consciousness I live and commit myself to God. I know that I am a man and a miserable sinner : but I hope that many wise and good men can bear testimony to my aims and my labours, in the cause in which I have devoted myself.”—To Spalatin : “ This is the object I propose to myself—scope and end of my philosophy. You remember the wise saying of the elector Frederick *What we can !* Let us adopt it. Let us serve the public as far as we can, and expect no protection, our favour, and our reward from God. Human rewards are nothing.”¹

¹ Epist. ii. 222. vi. p. 161. ii. 571. i. 94.

zeal for the instruction of youth, and in sending promising young men to patronised to useful situations, are prominent in all his correspondence. "As long as he says, "I will labour to bring forward may be serviceable to youth." And "I am delighted with the verse of Epics; for I think it a greater honour to be to children, than 'to capture Troy.'"¹ Once he deliberately preferred publishing of treatises, in which, among other things, all the sciences were first reduced to from the miserable confusion in which had been involved, to perfecting a small of works which might have more his own literary reputation.²

A. D.
1566.

Zeal for
Education.

Humility often shines forth very pleasingly, without ostentation. "My errors," he says, "the errors of many other persons concerned, are numerous: nor could things of such price be recovered from the dark chaos in they were sunk, without many mistakes committed."—"I wish neither to rely

Humility.

. ii. 407. iv. 837. His judgment in the following will be gratifying to some of our public instructors: kind of composition are the wits of boys more than by making verses." ("Non alio genere scribis accuuntur puerorum ingenia, quam faciendis") Epist. vi. p. 360.

with many other particulars, is stated and vindicated in the prefatory epistle to the first volume of his works, Basle, 1542. It is to be found among his Epistles, and relates to "himself and his own early pursuits," speaks with great modesty of his own attainments, but justifies the reformation, (ascribing many measures passed upon it to the secret belief that the world itself was a mere fable, and therefore not worth the sacrifices attending the removal of its corruptions) rejoices in the part which he himself had taken as a reformer.

CHAP.
XII.

on my own counsels, nor to introduce novelties, nor to contend for things not necessary."—"Let others boast themselves self-taught: I freely confess, that I am daily indebted to many persons for instruction in numerous particulars. To be single-handed is to be weak."¹

His
liberality
and disin-
terestedness.

His *liberality* and *disinterestedness* must not be passed over. Camerarius writes of Melancthon's wife, "She was a most assiduous mistress of a family, liberal and beneficent to all, and so attentive to the poor, that, both in giving to all without distinction, and in making applications to others on their behalf, she seemed sometimes to exceed due bounds."—Moderate as were his means, Melancthon's house appears to have been open to all comers, who took any interest in the cause of religion or learning: and we have already observed, that he did not scruple to do much to support, as well as gratuitously to instruct, poor students of promising talents and character.—At the time when he was a wanderer from home on account of the war, he thus writes to a fellow sufferer: "With respect to pecuniary matters, God will provide. What I have left you shall share with me." And again: "Though the war is ruinous to my finances, yet, if you have need to take any thing of your friends, take it of *me*. As long as any part of my property remains we will hold it in common."²—We may perhaps think this excessive: but certainly it is noble. Surely also it is Christian; and, when such conduct is adopted upon genuine principles of faith in God and love to man, no one will suffer by it.

¹ *Μίας χειρὸς ἀσθενὲς μάχη.*—So he writes to Ales: "Solitude is not favourable to the investigation of truth: though it may be agreeable to those who read only for amusement." Epist. iv. 737, 135. iii. 109.

² Epist ii. 472, 474.

A. D.
1560.

of no material inconvenience which
to either Melancthon or his family, by
position to share his property with the
and with his friends.—Yet, with respect
stipend from the university, which was
his main support, it would appear
conversation related to have passed
Sabinus, afterwards his son-in-law, and
Bembo, in Italy, that it did not exceed
hundred florins, or about seventy pounds
and we have before seen that he hesi-
to receive an addition to it.¹ Maurice
when advanced to the electorate, could
even on trial, induce him to ask, and
y to accept any thing from him.²—We
reason to observe a like spirit in Luther:³
may add, that, in perusing their memoirs,
struck me as common to most of the
great men, who were made the instruments
to do great work at the period of the reforma-
Yes, and, if we would aspire to be em-
with success on such high and holy
s, we must become detached more than
from the interests of this life. Oh, are
become far too calculating,—if I may so
too *commercial*—too much given to con-
sider the means of acquiring a good provision,
maintaining a handsome style of living?
is never the spirit which wrought great
in the church of God. Let us beware
fall under the sentence, though perhaps

L. 336.

h. Ad. l. 173. iv. 22. Cox, p. 110—115. The
marked to his courtiers, "that he had never seen
any thing like Melancthon's conduct, who
only to be distressed to ask for any thing, but
even accept it when offered." Van de Coppen, in

L. 336.

CHAP.
XII.Devotional
spirit.

in a somewhat varied sense, "Ye have your reward,"—in improved circumstances, but in blighted labours!

His *devout spirit* has sufficiently appeared: but we may add the two following short specimens of the sort of sentiments which abounded in his correspondence. "Amid these disorders may the Son of God protect us! When he formed such an alliance with the human race as to take our nature upon him, he gave an irrefragable proof of his real regard for us. Oh amazing, that the divine nature should so abase itself! Oh more than iron-hardness of the human heart, to be so little affected with such a fact!"—"In all ages the church has been subject to exile; to remind us, I think, that we have lost our proper native country, and that we are to be led back to it by the Son of God, for this purpose living in exile among us. But, as God bears a regard to us in our banishment, so would he have all pious persons relieve the sorrows of their fellow exiles."¹

Melanc-
thon's
Common
Places.
1521.

To give an account of works which have extensively promoted the cause of religion, and permanently influenced the state of the church, is a legitimate and a very important object of this history. Hence the ample notice taken by Mr. Milner of the writings of S. Augustine, and the copious review given by Dr. Milner of Luther's Commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, and of some others of his works: and hence

¹ Epist. vi. pp. 161, 170.

full account, inserted in our own former of the Confession of Augsburg. In the same design, we propose now to add our history of Melancthon with a notice of one among his numerous works—the most important of all those published in his own name alone. The work is his “Common Places,” or brief discourse of the principal topics of theology. The knowledge of the great value of the work furnishes a very interesting article of church and theological history.¹

4s. 6d.
15.00s.

At its very first publication, in the year 1521, when its author was only twenty-four (age,) it obtained an extraordinary reputation. Luther spoke of it as “invincible, not only of immortality, but of being adopted by a canon of the church:” pronounced it far superior to any writings of the time—“the best book in the world next the Bible;” and one which, thoroughly understood, was sufficient, with the holy scriptures, to accomplish divine purposes: and, in his controversy with Erasmus, he told that learned man that it had, by anticipation, “grounded the arguments of his Diatribe to powder:”

Extraordinary
celebrity
of the work.

It appears clearly to have been Dr. Milner's intention to give a further account than he has done of this immense work. He says, (vol. v. (922,) 332,) “As the work of Melancthon's Common Places, or Theological Institutes, is exceedingly scarce, I have given in the Appendix a full account of its contents, as far as they relate to the subject of the divine decrees. See Appendix, Melancthon's Common Places.” Yet, on turning to the Appendix, we find nothing but references to certain scriptures which Melancthon has quoted in the work.

It is added, however, “Some things contained in the work may be referred to with advantage on a second perusal.”

and he continued to speak of it in the same strain to the end of his days.¹ Erasmus also highly commended it:² while Cochläus, the virulent opponent of Luther,³ denounces it as "a most pestilent monster, big with ruin to the church." To an edition published in France at Geneva, in the year 1551, Calvin prefixed an advertisement, in which he "eulogizes the author in the strongest terms," and says of the *Common Places* in particular, "The work is a summary of those truths which are essential to a Christian's guidance in the way of salvation." In numerous theological schools no other text book was used for the lectures delivered to the students: and in Misnia and Pomerania it was clothed with the authority of a symbolical book.⁵ It spread even into Italy, and was well received at Rome itself, till it was discovered that the name of the author to whom it was ascribed, "Messer Ippofilo da Terra Negra," was no other than a translation of the word "Philip Melancthon,"—on which the copies were ordered to be burned!⁶ No less than ninety-nine editions have been enumerated (sixty-seven in the original Latin, and thirty-two in different modern languages,) which were printed at various places within seventy-four years from its first appearance; sixteen or seventeen of which were between the years 1521 and 1525: and we may be sure that where the demand was so great the impressions would

¹ Milner, v. 272. (859.) Above i. 319, 523. Cox's *Melancthon* p. 172-3.

² Milner v. 323. (913.)

³ Bp. Atterbury calls him, "A senseless and venomous writer."

⁴ Cox, 174. Augusti, ubi infra, p. 174.

⁵ Augusti.

⁶ Von der Hardt, *Hist. Lit. Ref.* iv. 30. M'Crie's *Reformation in Italy*, p. 35. *Melancthon* is Greek for his proper name *Schwartzerd*, which means *black earth*.

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1860.

at be small ones. From the year 1595 to 1821, however, only one edition is known to have been printed,¹ besides that inserted in Von der ardt's Literary History: and into so great neglect has this once celebrated work, from one cause or other, fallen, especially in the country which gave it birth, that Professor Augusti,² who in the last-mentioned year reprinted the work at Leipsic, complains that scarcely three in a hundred of the German divines and theological students have ever seen the book, which their forefathers held in such high estimation."—The appearance of his edition, with the republication of some other pieces of the era of the reformation by the same editor, may be numbered, we trust, among the circumstances which indicate a favourable change to be taking place in Germany. He states, that he thus brings it out anew at the expiration of the third centenary from its original publication, not only from respect to the venerable author's memory, but because "the times seem specially to need true biblical theology, like that of Melancthon." "From profound ignorance of the author and his writings," he says, "he has been supposed to patronize what is called *modern theology*, but which the reformer would rather have denominated *atheology*." He presses the study of the work therefore on the rising generation of divines, as "a preservative against prevailing scepticism on the one hand, and mysticism on the other."³

Its recent
republica-
tion.

But other circumstances besides those already mentioned render the history of this work curi-

Changes
made in it
by the
author.

¹ At Francfort, 1620. Augusti, p. 190.

² "S. Theologus Doctor, et Professor in Universitate Borussia Rhenanâ."

³ In *pref.*—Compare Rose on German Protestantism.

ous and interesting. Not only were various new topics introduced in the course of its progress, and the volume, at first no more than a small duodecimo of two hundred and fifty pages, swelled to nearly four times its original size, but, on certain important points, changes beyond mere "alterations in the expression" were made, which attracted great attention among his contemporaries; have been made the subject of much investigation since; and furnish a very striking instance, how much increasing experience, study, and prayer teach a wise and good man modesty, and may very probably modify his sentiments upon high points, on which he might at first be disposed to dogmatize. Much curiosity has this subject excited among the learned, that, after more than one volume had been produced upon it,² Brucker, (as understood,) the learned author of the *History of Philosophy*, expressed his wish that a competent writer would give a complete history of the work—a wish which, according to Augusti, has been fully satisfied in a German treatise by Strobélius,³ pastor of Weehm, author of *Melancthoniana*, and other esteemed works, and editor of *Camerarius's Life of Melancthon*. From this volume, and from his investigations, Augusti has presented much interesting information, of which I have availed and shall still further avail myself.

After the work had been about four years before the public, its author, in 1525, as far as his influence extended, restrained its publication; and it was no more reprinted, at least in the original Latin, till 1535, when he brought

¹ Milner v. 330. (921.)

² Augusti, p. 198.

³ Printed at Nuremberg 1776 and 1782. Augusti, p.

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it out afresh, doubled in size, and introduced by a long and interesting dedication to our Henry VIII, which was continued till that prince had proved himself unworthy of such a mark of respect from a leading reformer.¹ Edition again rapidly succeeded edition of the book in this form, till the year 1543, when it appeared a second time remodeled, and again nearly doubled in size. The number of articles is here reduced from thirty-nine to twenty-four—nearly the original amount: but this is effected not by omission, but by making some, which had formed distinct heads, subdivisions of others.

We have therefore, in fact, three distinct series of editions, those from 1521 to 1525, those from 1535 to 1542 inclusive, and those subsequent to the last of these dates. The most material variations are between the first and second series: those between the second and third being made rather by addition than by alteration. The ten years' interval, during which the work was in a manner suspended, from 1525 to 1535, was an important period. To name no other events, the controversy between Luther and Erasmus on the will, and the preparation, discussion, and defence of the Confession of Augsburg, had fallen within that term: and no one who knows the temper and

Three series
of editions.

¹ Henry's reply, which was accompanied by a present of two hundred ducats, is given in Gerdes's Hist. Ref. iv. 251; Melancthon's acknowledgment, among his Epistles, i. 27. All the former part of the dedication is also to be seen in the Epistles, i. 9, and that part which immediately addressed the king, in iii. 6, with the two following lines subjoined, which the author laments the change for the worse which had taken place in his patron:

" Dum laudandus erat, regem laudavimus Anglum:
Hei mihi, quam varium est regibus ingenium!" ..

habits of Melancthon will doubt, that he be most seriously reconsidering, at such a every part of a work, which had met with acceptance, and was likely to produce an impression, far beyond all his expectations. He be anxious, before it reappeared, to give it a degree of perfection in his power.—The change which he made by no means gave satisfaction to all his friends, and particularly to many of the divines who took a leading part in the Protestant church after the death of Luther. The latter in consequence asserted, that the former's commendations of the work related only to the earlier editions, and that he disapproved the alterations made in it, though for the sake of not disturbing the peace of the church, he did not publicly censure them. However, according to Augusti, has been disproved in works to which he refers,¹ indeed its incorrectness might be pretty safely inferred from what has appeared in history. It was in 1543, eight years after the principal changes had taken place, and the editions of twenty years' previous date no doubt of comparatively rare occurrence. Luther commended the work, without qualification, to his Italian correspondent, and it was in 1545, two years after the important alterations had been made, that he eulogized it, in the same unqualified manner in the preface to the first volume of his collected works.³

On account of the extreme rarity of the editions, (which made Hutter, a learned author who died so far back as the year 1616, complain that they were inaccessible to him,) and

¹ Augusti, p. 241.² Vol. i. 319.³ Ib.

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their being much sought after, as exhibiting the earliest complete monument of the original doctrine of the reformers, Herman Von der Hardt was induced to reprint the first edition verbatim in his Literary History, printed at Francfort, in 1717: and for the same reasons Augusti's edition is copied with scrupulous fidelity¹ from this reprint. The latter editor, however, has subjoined the variations of the other editions on some topics, on which the principal changes had been made.

After these introductory notices, the remarkable nature of which has drawn them out to a greater length than we could otherwise have wished, we proceed to give some account of the contents of the book itself. And in doing this we shall, in the altered parts, in the first instance follow the course of the first edition, and then mark, as we proceed, the material changes which were afterwards made.²

The work arose, as the author informs us, out of his lectures to the students on the Epistle to the Romans, and it bore an especial reference to that epistle. He wished simply to present his auditors with an orderly list of the principal theological topics, which were involved in this portion of S. Paul's writings, and which they might study from it. His aim was to draw their attention to the sacred scriptures themselves, and not to substitute any

Origin and
design of
the work.

¹ So scrupulous, that the very errors of the press are retained: but I fear many others are added to them, for the volume is very incorrectly printed.

² What follows I trust will be acceptable to those who make divinity a study, but the reader, who finds it not interesting to him, may pass over the remainder of this chapter, without loss to the *history*. It, as well as the next chapter, may be considered as occupying the place of an *appendix* to the history of the Lutheran reformation.

thing for them. What he proposed therefore to furnish, was an *index* rather than a *commentary*. Hence he was purposely very brief, and had no thought of publishing his work, till transcripts of it, being, in his opinion, very injudiciously multiplied, it was placed beyond his control.¹

Subjects on
which it
proposed to
treat.

On subjects which utterly surpass our comprehension, as likewise on those respecting which almost all professed Christians are agreed, he proposed not to dwell.—Hence, though he enumerates among his topics “God, the Trinity, Creation,” he adds nothing upon these heads, but hastens at once to “Christ, and his benefits,” or at least to topics immediately connected with these. “This,” he says, “is *Christian knowledge*, to understand what the law requires; how we may be enabled to obey it; whence we are to find the pardon of sin; by what means our feeble staggering minds are to be enabled to withstand the world, the flesh, and the devil; how our wounded consciences are to be healed. These are the topics of which S. Paul treats.”—Though our author, when afterwards compelled to estimate more highly the importance of his own work, and in consequence induced to compose somewhat more resembling a complete body of divinity, found it necessary to depart from this simplicity of his original design, and to discuss the several topics which he had only named before; yet we cannot but remark with delight the spirit in which this youthful, but well-furnished theologian commences his work. He does not, in the lecturer and the divine, forget the Christian. He

¹ Præfat. ad Plettenerum, prefixed to the earlier editions.

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1500.

ners that theology is no mere speculation: he is sensible that its great end is to recover the lost sinner to God, and to show him the way to heaven. He feels himself to be a party concerned—one whose conscience needs to be pacified, and his heart comforted: and the means by which this is to be effected are the subject of first attraction to him.—Oh that all our professors and teachers of divinity may here tread in his steps! that all our students of divine knowledge may be animated with a like deep feeling, that their personal salvation is concerned in what they study! Only when they thus learn it, in the first place for their own use—their own deliverance from guilt and sin—will they be enabled to teach it profitably to others.

After this introduction, the reader will perhaps be surprised to learn, that the first doctrine on which our author enlarges is, “The state of man, and in consequence the question of free will:” and probably he will be more surprised at being informed, that the author here teaches the very highest predestinarian and necessitarian doctrines. But let us speak for himself.

“Here,” he says, “the Christian doctrine is wholly at variance with philosophy and human reason:” and he assigns among the causes which had produced the substitution of error for the true doctrine, that it had “seemed more easy to teach, that man sins necessarily; to cast the blame on his will, if that will is unable to turn itself from vice to virtue; than to say, when he has defined liberty to be the power of acting in a given manner.”

Its high
predestina-
rian doc-
trine.

¹ Edit. Augusti, p. 11.

says : " Since all things which happen happen necessarily, according to the divine predestination, there is no such thing as liberty in our wills."¹ " The judgment of the flesh, or human reason, revolts from this, but the judgment of the spirit acquiesces in it." " In no way will you more surely learn either the fear of God or confidence in him, than by imbuing your mind with this doctrine of predestination." " It answers important purposes, firmly to believe that all things are done by God." " The scriptures teach that all things happen necessarily:" " they take away liberty from our wills by the necessity of predestination."²

He then supposes an objection to be made to his beginning with so harsh and difficult a doctrine : but he answers, " It matters little whether that, which must affect every part of our discussion, occupies the first place or the last in our compendium."³

He defends Valla upon these subjects against the censure of Eckius :⁴ a circumstance which I here note because of what will hereafter come before us.

Then, in a summary of his doctrine at the close of this topic, he gives the following abstract : " If you speak of the human will in reference to predestination, there is no such thing as liberty, either in external acts or in

¹ Edit. Augusti, p. 12. ² Ib. 12, 13. ³ Ib. 13.

⁴ Ib. 14. Laurentius Valla was a distinguished scholar and patriot of the fifteenth century, who first exposed the pretended donation of Constantine to the bishops of Rome. Erasmus says of him, that he " rescued literature from the grave, and restored Italy to the splendour of her ancient eloquence;" while Bellarmine calls him " the precursor of the Lutherans." M'Crie's Italy, p. 15, 48. Gibbon's Rome, ix. p. 161. 8vo.

internal operations of the mind. If you speak of it with reference to outward actions, there seems to the judgment of nature to be liberty. If you speak of it with reference to the affections, liberty has no existence, even according to the judgment of nature." In the last sentence his meaning is, that the mind cannot command its own likings and dislikings.¹

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Remarks.

We need feel the less hesitation in pronouncing, that in these statements there is no small extravagance and impropriety, because, in such a sentence the author himself would, a few years after, have concurred. Let not the younger student suppose, that that denial of free will, in which our church most justly concurs,² and which was an integral part of the general doctrine of the reformation, involves the sentiments here advanced. What is denied in these passages of Melancthon is *free agency*, not *free will* in the theological sense of that term: and, be it observed, it is denied upon principles which withhold it from all creatures, simply as such, and not merely from fallen beings. The scriptures "take away liberty from our wills by the necessity of predestination." We are to believe that "all things are done by God," evil, it appears, as well as good:—And this is exceedingly to be deprecated; and is a widely different thing from holding, that "the condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works, to turn and calling upon God."

Free
Agency

But here it may be expedient to offer some little explanation. Not with a view to settle a controversy which is some of the least important

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hitherto been found to baffle the powers of but only to enable less experienced readers to understand what some of the questions at really are,¹ and to make some necessary distinctions among them.

Free will :
meaning of
the term.

We may remark then, that there appears to be great infelicity in the language constantly and perhaps unavoidably, employed in discussions concerning the will. The very *free will* conveys to the great mass of hearers and readers very erroneous ideas of what is meant. The denial of free will at once suggests to their minds the denial of that power of choosing, and acting according to choice, which we find within themselves, and which appears to be essential to accountableness. But nothing as this is intended. Melancthon's doctrine, indeed, seems to strip all creatures of this power, "the power of acting in a given manner," and to consider them under an illusion when they imagine themselves to be exercising it : but the ordinary theological sense, in which we esteem it orthodox to oppose the Arian and Pelagian to assert, the freedom of the will involves no such sentiment : it even relates to quite a different question, extending only to *fallen* creatures ; and means no more than that fallen man will never choose, and consequently never perform, what is ' spiritual.

¹ Dr. Milner well observes, that "to clear up difficulties may be impossible in some instances," but that "difficulties to state them, which is the next thing to be aimed at, is always possible." Hist. v. 265. (852-3.) It were to be wished that so acute and learned a writer, in his review of Luther's controversy with Erasmus, had distinguished, for the assistance of a humbler order of students, what are the several difficulties involved in the discussion, and which of them seem to belong to the class of "knowable," and which not.

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od,' 'good before God,' "without the grace

God by Christ preventing him, that he may
ve a good will, and working with him when
; has that good will."¹ This practical doc-
ine, and that high metaphysical one in which
e youthful, but not the matured Melancthon
volves himself, are carefully to be distin-
ished. It is a *moral* freedom only, or freedom
om corrupt bias in *fallen* man that is denied,
ot a metaphysical power or freedom *to choose*
we will—if such tautological language must
e retained. Satan or a wicked man is, in this
ense, as *free*, in his choice of evil, as a holy
angel or a renewed man is in his choice of
ood:² but free will is allowed to the one, and
enied to the other in a *moral* sense, because
irtue is liberty, and vice is bondage. And
his may be the true source of the application
f the term *free* to the will. In any other
ense the epithet is superfluous and improper:
r, when we have said, that man *chooses*, we
ain nothing by adding *freely*, or, in other
ords, *as he chooses*. If he does not, in this
ense, choose *freely*, he in fact does not *choose*
at all: "Nor is it possible," says Dr. Milner,

¹ Church Art. x.

² "The idea of restraint is totally contrary to the act of
choosing. In fact there is no restraint, either on the divine
or human will: in both cases the will does what it does,
whether good or bad, simply, and as at perfect liberty, in
exercise of its own faculty... A man who has not the
of God does evil willingly and spontaneously. If
violently impelled against his will... Again, when
Spirit is pleased to change the will of a bad man
man still acts voluntarily: he is not compelled by
to determine contrary to his will; but his will itself
and he cannot now do otherwise than love the good,
he loved the evil." Luther on the Bondage of the
Milner, v. 280, 281. (868-9.)

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XII.

Inability.

"to go one step further than simply this, that men *do* choose and refuse."¹

We seem likewise almost unavoidably to fall into the use of the language which Melancthon has employed, and which is not without countenance from scripture,² speaking of the will of fallen man as *unable* to choose what is good; yet such language is very apt to convey erroneous notions. It seems to imply that the party concerned is *inclined* to make the right choice, and actually *tries* to make it, but cannot succeed: whereas the want of inclination is the very inability here intended.

Necessity.

The term *necessity* also conveys the same erroneous idea of *constraint* or *compulsion*, whereas the *certainly* of the event, without pretending to explain in what manner and by what means it is rendered certain, and without less implying that any violence is done to the volitions of the creature, is all that is meant by those who hold a portion of Melancthon's doctrine upon the subject of predestination. Luther, who considered "all events, though to our minds contingent, to be necessary and unchangeable as they respect the divine will," observes: "Nevertheless, I wish we had a better word than *necessity*, which is commonly made use of in this dispute; for it conveys to the understanding an idea

¹ Milner, v. 277. (864.)

² There is a *cannot* which implies the perfection of — "God that cannot lie;" and a *cannot* which denotes consummation of evil — "Eyes that cannot cease from weeping" — "The carnal mind is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be" — "Satan cannot love." The *cannot* which removes all responsibility, whether physical, the former is simply moral inability of right disposition.

restraint, which is totally contrary to the act of choosing."¹

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With regard to the abstruse question, in which Melancthon has entangled himself, of the necessary influence of the Creator over all the volitions and acts of the creature—or of the First Cause over all subordinate causes—it seems enough for us to know, (what is alike matter of experience and a principle of scripture,) that we possess all that freedom of choice and action which is necessary to constitute us accountable beings, and to make sin, *as sin* from first to last, the work of the creature and not of the Creator. It is not necessary to accountability, that there should exist a freedom from all inward bias, that is, inclination or disposition, to evil : if such a bias destroyed responsibility in fallen angels or fallen man, the contrary bias to good must equally destroy all virtue in

¹ In Milner, v. 277. (864.)—For my own part, I confess, I choose to suspend my judgment upon points so far "too high" for us; where much, that seems to be established by incontrovertible reasoning, and countenanced by scriptural authority, appears also to us, with our limited powers, to be incapable of being reconciled with what is alike the dictate of nature and common sense, and the clear doctrine of divine revelation. But to those who revolt, with contempt and indignation, at the mention of any such necessity as is stated in the text, it may be worth while to learn a lesson of humility, by trying to disentangle themselves from the obnoxious doctrine, as following, at one, simple, unavoidable step, from the divine prescience alone, independently of any predestination. Thus: After all that can be said, it can never be disproved, that what is certainly foretold, will certainly come to pass: but future events are subject to the Almighty God—as both prophecy and the threatenings of scripture demonstrate: therefore they are, in the sense explained, necessary. —I say again, I say this as my own unhesitating conclusion. I put it out as an exercise for those who imagine themselves free from such difficulties.

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holy angels and in recovered man : and a *neutral* state is absurd and self-contradictory ; for indifference to good is a positively evil state of mind. This therefore is not necessary to accountableness ; but only that we should be subject to no constraint or restraint *ab extra*, (from without,) no compulsion, which we certainly feel ourselves to be, in all cases in which we are ever considered as accountable.

Liberty.

That *liberty*, then, which is necessary to free agency, and consequently to responsibility, man clearly possesses : though that moral liberty, which consists in freedom from evil inclination, or rather in inclination to what is spiritually good, he has utterly lost, and is, in his present state, “ of his own nature inclined unto evil.”¹—With respect to *contingency*, it exists, as these writers say, “ with respect to man,” in this sense—that he may evidently choose as his inclination dictates, and act or decline acting, according to his choice : but still, “ with respect to God,” the event is in every instance *certain*, as, by means incomprehensible to us, he foresees how every one will choose and act, and even so overrules their choice and actions, *without any violation of their liberty*, that his purposes are infallibly accomplished.—With respect to the influence of divine *grace* upon the mind—*how* Almighty God inclines and changes the will, without doing any violence to it, is a question relating to the *mode* of the divine operations, which belongs not to us : that he *does* so influence it is demonstrable from scripture,² and is made manifest also by facts, as compared with scriptural testimonies.

Contin-
gency.¹ Church Art. ix.² See vol. i. 46.

Having offered these observations, we now proceed to examine what were the changes which Melancthon, as time advanced, made in his statements upon these subjects.

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In the second series of editions of his work, from 1535 to 1543, the article on free will is preceded by one "on the cause of sin, and on contingency," subjects which, he observes, have much harassed the church, and excited lamentable controversies. On each of them, the author says, "inextricable and absurd questions are raised, which are of dangerous tendency. Young students, therefore, are to be admonished to seek simple conclusions, conducive to piety and holiness of life, and to rest in them, rather than suffer themselves to be led away by captious and delusive disputations. Among such conclusions is the principle, ever to be held fast and embraced with the whole heart, that God is not the cause of sin, nor does he will its existence; but its true causes are the will of Satan and that of man."¹ "Hence," he says, "contingency," by which he seems to mean simply that we are at liberty to act as we do or otherwise, "must be allowed; and sin is not necessary, with any absolute necessity:" though how liberty is compatible with God's foreknowledge, and contingency with his determination of events, is to us incomprehensible. Here also he expressly asserts, that the will of man before the fall was "truly free"—contrary to what he before laid down, that the predetermination of the Creator must take away all liberty of creature. He enters also into further distinctions, which need not here be detailed.²

Changes in
the second
series of
editions:
1535.

¹ So the Confession of Augsburg. Above, vol. i. 35

² Edit. Wittemb. 1538. p. 65—69.

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XII.and in the
third:
1543.

In the editions of the third series, this article is tripled in extent, and considerably increased in interest. The same doctrine is maintained, but explanation, to a certain degree useful, is added on some abstruse points—on sin considered as not a distinct existence, so to speak, but as *privative*, the *want* of something which ought to accompany that existence, a *perversion* of God's work, not a substantive work of itself: on the position, that a secondary cause cannot act apart from the first cause: and on other kindred questions. The whole is intended to repel the blasphemous idea of God's being the author of moral evil; to exclude a stoical fate or necessity, extending to the conduct of either God or man; and to clear the doctrine of man's free agency. In opposition to what he calls the notions of Zeno, (the founder of the stoical or fatalist sect,) he applauds the sentiment of Plato, "That in a well-ordered state the utmost care should be used, that no such notion, as that of God's being the author of moral evil in any one, may reach the ears of either young or old, even in a poem or other fiction—for that such a sentiment is contrary to piety, mischievous to the public, and self-contradictory." He speaks, with much beauty, of God's assisting and directing us in answer to our prayers, and making us the instruments of his gracious designs towards the human race, instead of our being left, without him, to become like Pharaoh, Nero, Manichæus, and others, the authors of mischief. "Let that sentence of Christ," he says, "*Without me ye can do nothing* (good), constantly excite us to fervent prayers that we may be guided and governed by God."¹

¹ Edit. Lips. 1546. p. 58—72. Opera, i. fo. 162—165.—

COMMON PLACES.

The article "on the will and powers of man," in the second class of editions, begins with a censure of the very writer whom the author had formerly defended against Eckius: "Valla and many others," he says, "improperly take away liberty from the human will, on the ground that all things happen in pursuance of the decrees of God: and thus they deny all contingency. But the question of contingency belongs not to the present inquiry into the powers of man. For here, among us who belong to the church of Christ, the question is, What is the nature of man? Can he render perfect [or spiritual] obedience to the law of God? We inquire not into the secret counsel of God, as the universal Governor: we inquire not into predestination: we treat not of things contingent in general. The discreet student will in this place put aside such discussions, and detach them entirely from the present topic. Let us look into ourselves; and remember that the subject here is—our infirmity. There is no need for us to aspire to scrutinize heavenly things, relating to the manner in which God governs the world, and to his predestination. We must take care, that what is good and useful be not overlaid and lost, amid contentions quite beside the purpose—as is apt to be the case

In citing the editions of the third period, I had contented myself with referring to that of Leipsic, 1546, 8vo; but it afterwards occurred to me, that it might be more satisfactory to use a copy of still later date. I have therefore compared, and added references to that which is given in the first volume of Melancthon's works, printed at Wittenberg, 1580; though in none of the passages which I have had occasion to adduce have I found any variation, of the slightest moment, from the edition of 1546, excepting one addition which I had previously noted from Augusti. The reader may therefore rest satisfied, that in these citations he has Melancthon's latest and most matured sentiments.

when superfluous topics are introduced. I shall therefore briefly set forth what the scripture teaches concerning the infirmity of human nature: for this must be known in order that we may learn our need of Christ."¹

What a growth in wisdom do we here discover! Before, he plunged at once, and led the youthful student to plunge with him, into depths which human powers could never yet fathom, and on which divine revelation has made few discoveries: now he will limit his inquiries to that knowledge of ourselves which is necessary to shew us our need of the Saviour, and will leave "secret things" to God. And accordingly we shall find, that his discussions concerning the will are nearly confined to the practical subject of *moral* liberty—whether fallen man can and will choose aright without divine grace.

Human
depravity.

He proceeds, "The question is, How is the will free? that is, How can it obey the law of God? And of this question we cannot judge, without considering the extent of that sin which is born with us, or natural infirmity; nor without being aware that the law of God requires not mere external, civil actions, but a constant and perfect obedience of our whole nature. If the nature of man were not corrupt, ... all the movements of his mind would be in harmony with the law of God, as those of holy angels are: whereas, through the influence of original sin, he is involved in doubt, darkness, and errors; neither truly fears God, nor rightly trusts in him; and in short is full of vicious affections. With immediate reference to this infirmity of nature, the present inquiry is,

¹ Edit. 1538, p. 70. Ed. Augusti, p. 202.

A. D.
1688.

What the will of man can perform?"—Here
 then, we see, the whole subject is *human de-*
creavity, its nature and extent; and no longer
 any abstract, inscrutable questions concerning
 the compatibility of liberty in the creature with
 the universal controlling influence of the Creator.
 To the inquiry, then, just proposed, he answers:
 1. That to the human will is still left, even
 apart from renovation by divine grace, the
 power of choosing among external actions, and
 in some measure performing the *outward* works
 required by the law of God. This," he says,
 is the liberty of the will which philosophers
 rightly attribute to man: for the inspired wri-
 tings, to a certain degree, allow it him 2.
 The gospel teaches, that there exists in our
 nature a horrible corruption, which rebels
 against the law of God, and makes it impos-
 sible for us to yield a sound or entire obedience.
 And this corruption the will can never of itself
 move. . . . There is moreover in our nature
 such a blindness, that we cannot even suffi-
 ciently perceive this corruption: we know not
 how great is our own weakness. . . . Man cannot,
 therefore, satisfy the law of God. That law
 requires not merely external acts, but inward
 purity, fear, trust, and the highest love; in
 short, perfect obedience; and forbids all vicious
 affections. . . . Such affections of the heart, as
 God requires, man cannot yield without the
 Holy Spirit."—Though he cites scriptural pro-
 oofs, he adds, "There needs no long argu-
 ment to demonstrate this. Let every one con-
 sider his own breast; and reflect whether strange
 doubts concerning God, and great distrust of
 himself do not harass his mind: whether he
 fears and loves God: whether he is
 tempted to quarrel with the dispensation."

subjects our weak nature to so many calamities, and moreover suspends over it the dread of eternal punishment. We say not these things to ensnare men's consciences, to discourage in them the attempt to obey. (On the contrary, as all our instructions are to be derived from the word of God, we must not set ourselves in opposition to that word, but use our utmost endeavours to yield obedience, fixing our eyes on the promise of the gospel which is universal"—or holds out the unlimited offer of help to all who seek it.—"These truths themselves, also, are much better understood amid real struggles and efforts of the mind than by mere speculative disquisitions. For in genuine conflicts, under anxiety concerning the pardon of sin, we must rouse ourselves and look to the promise. . . . The word of God must here be held fast. The Spirit works by the means of the word. . . . Here we see these three causes united—the word, the Spirit, and our will; and the latter not in a state of indolence but resisting our infirmity, or depravity."—"With respect to the virtues of godly men, though there is still great weakness, yet the will enjoys some liberty, being now assisted by the Holy Spirit."¹

Prevenient
grace.

From all this it may be seen, that, however he may have receded from the high speculative ground which he formerly occupied, he has not weakened his statements of a practical doctrine like that of human depravity. In the last sentence indeed, and still more in the clauses from Basil and Chrysostom, quoted in connexion with it—"Only be willing, and God prevents you," or anticipates you, "will

¹ Ed. 1538, p. 70—80. Augusti, 202—206.

A. D.
1560.

aid"—and, "He that draws draws the willing"—it must be acknowledged, there is not that distinct avowal of "grace preventing us, that we may have a good will," which our Article properly exhibits: yet he adds, "God prevents us, calls, moves, assists us: let us see that we do not resist him."—On the nice and difficult subject of cöoperation he certainly appears not to have found the just mean, as our church does, which makes "cöoperation" to follow the communication of that grace which produces the "good will," not to precede it:¹ and hence he was stigmatized as a *synergist*, or one that made divine grace and human choice to conspire in the first turning of the heart to God.

In the third series of editions, this discussion is more than doubled in length: but I find little that requires to be further noted. The two sentences from Basil and Chrysostom are here introduced by the observation, "The ancients taught, that, grace *preceding* and the will *accompanying*, good works are performed."

In the editions subsequent to the year 1548, it appears, an addition of some length and importance was made. It is directed against such as convert the necessity of divine influence into an argument for sitting still, and attempting nothing, till that influence is felt powerfully inciting them to action.² This fatal

On passive
waiting for
grace.

¹ "Working with us" (cöoperating) "*when we have that good will.*" Art. x.

² As he remarks in what may be called his latest work, which will be noticed at the close of this chapter, "The church has ever been beset with two classes of enemies, upon this subject, Pelagians" who vacate, "and enthusiasts" who abuse, the doctrine of divine influence. Opera, . 372 (b).

error, he observes, he had found among others beside mere careless persons, intent on indulging their lusts : in some it was at once the parent and the offspring of an indolent despondence. He sets himself to oppose it with zeal, as a faithful teacher must do ; and forcibly dissects against it the authoritative commands of " to all men every where " to repent, and to believe and obey the gospel. But, in his further attempts to expose and subvert the foundation of the error, it is to be feared he keeps not clear of error on the opposite side. " This Manichean imagination," he says, " is a horrible falsehood : the minds of men cannot be withdrawn from it, and taught that they can do something There must be some cause of discrimination when Saul, for instance, is rejected and David accepted ; that is, there must be some dissimilar action in the two cases. That there exists some reason for even the first difference made between one man and another, (on which all subsequent differences depend,) there can be no doubt : but, " I will do as the Lord saith, " so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight, " seems to be the language which best becomes us in speaking of it, and which traces the reason as far as we are capable of discerning it : and assuredly the humble pious mind will never be disposed to find that reason in " betterment " (to adopt the word of an English writer,) originally existing in itself and in others. Nor must we, even in order to avoid the danger of passive indolence, which may seem to arise from ascribing to God the movement of our minds towards good, fall into that of extenuating human corruption and lay the basis of self-preference, or contradict the scriptural doctrine, " God, of his

love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us." ¹

A. D.
1550.

The author's concluding paragraph, however, concerning divine influences and human exertions, is wise and good. "If we try these things practically, in real life, we shall understand them better," than by any speculation concerning them. "But, since few really seek help of God, while the great majority, in a hopeless distrust of him, have recourse to human counsels; hence they remain strangers to the promise and benefit of Christ. But, casting away this indolence and distrust of God, and acknowledging the greatness of our miseries and dangers, let us *stir up ourselves* to true calling upon God. Thus shall we find the faithfulness of the divine promises, *Ask, and ye shall receive, and, The Lord is nigh to all them that call upon him in truth.*" ²

In connexion with the review which we have been making, it is natural to inquire what Melancthon has written directly on the subject of predestination. This appears among the proposed heads of his work in all the editions: but it is remarkable, that in those of the first series it is wholly passed over in its place—we

Predesti-
nation.

¹ It appears that, *subsequently* to the revision completed in 1543, an important passage was omitted, which had been found in the first editions, and which decidedly ascribed the first step in the conversion of the soul to God to prevenient grace, and not to the will of man. Edit. Augusti, 35.—In the first editions also is found an examination (which may perhaps have been transferred to another place in the later editions,) of the meaning of the term *sex* in the New Testament, shewing that it includes every thing belonging to man without the Spirit of God—"all the best and most excellent powers of mere nature—the specious virtue of Socrates and Cato, as well as the pernici-
ous of Caesar."—Ib. 26, 27.

² Ed. Augusti, 212, 213.

may conclude, as having already received such notice as the author thought proper to bestow upon it, in the parts which have been considered. The editions of the second series discuss it at some length ; and those of the third materially enlarge the discussion :¹ but it would seem rather to have been the author's wish to avoid those points of the question (relating to individual election or rejection,) which have caused so much controversy, than to deliver an opinion upon them. ' All who repent and believe the gospel are unquestionably God's elect—not for their own worthiness, but for Christ's merits : by seeing to it that we repent and believe, we may know our own election : but in no other way can any thing be known about it.' This I give, not as the very words of the author, but as the substance of what he has delivered on the subject : and no doubt this is all excellent practical instruction but it is such as rather evades the question that meets it.—Are our repentance, faith, and obedience the *causes* or the *consequences* of our election of God ? This is the real question at issue between those who are called Calvinists on the one hand, and Arminians, on the other and on this Melancthon delivers no explicit opinion. In a modern writer, at least, we should judge that his language implied the former sentiment rather than the latter²—That the cause of reprobation or rejection is sin, he expressly lays down : but this decides nothing

¹ Ed. 1538, p. 228—233. Ed. 1546, p. 463—476. Ed. 1555, p. 256—259.

² The reader will sometimes feel surprised that the language which Melancthon uses would allow him where he did. " For this reason we are elect, (or because we *are made* (efficimur) members of

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urning his sentiments on the other ques-
 . for all sober-minded and intelligent
 ns on *both* sides in the argument here
 : with him.—The *sum* of the doctrine, in
 ew of it, is, That God has ever had, and
 ever have a church collected from among
 which he will bless, preserve, and save ;
 e considers the *use* of it as being to give us
 ance of this fact.—The great lesson of the
 chapter of Romans he understands to be,
 clare the fallacy of all such assumptions as
 made in the apostles' days by the Jewish
 s and others, and in later times by the
 in pontiffs and clergy, that, because of their
 ssion and place in the *visible* church, they
 the *true* church of Christ, and, together
 those who adhered to them, exclusively
 of the promises.—In short, I must confess,
 to me many of his observations on the
 aural passages, which he adduces, appear
 mely vague, and some of them little co-
 it in their several parts. Thus he remarks
 hilippians ii. 13, " God draws our minds
 they *may be willing* ; but it behoves us to
 to his drawing, [that is to be willing,] and
 o resist it." On Romans viii. 30, " God
 es us, *because* he has determined to call
 the knowledge of his Son. . . . He approves
 fore, and chooses them that obey the call."
 rtainly such observations will never ad-
 : us towards a decision of the disputed
 ion.¹

ning so far evidently leaned; in the text, towards
 s called the Calvinistic side of the question, I would
 mark, that I never could find any variation in the
 ations furnished on the subject, and that the origin
 nual good in such a system, is a principal
 al passages on the subject, and that the con-
 L. 13.

But no one can justly complain of the spirit of Melancthon, even where he may differ from his sentiments. He thus draws his discussion of predestination to a conclusion. "There is great darkness in the minds of men in their thoughts concerning God; and, without divine illumination, they are commonly involved in either Epicurean or Stoical imaginations. . . great part of mankind conceive of God as meddling with us or our affairs: while others feign to themselves a Deity sitting in the heaven writing the laws of destiny on tablets of the Parcæ, (or fates,) and assigning to men virtue or vices by a sort of inevitable necessity.¹ But let us chase away these dreams of human ignorance, and turn to the testimony of God whence we shall learn that God is a perfect free agent; that he wills only good and no sin; that he has expressed this his will, and confirmed it by a thousand proofs; that he has placed us under the gospel of his grace, which Christ says, *Come unto me, all ye that*

contrary, Arminian expositors, more than any other writers drive me towards the Calvinistic sense.—At the same time I so deeply feel the difficulties, both scriptural and practical on this side of the question, as well as on the other, that I am little disposed to obtrude the subject on those who are willing to pass it over in silence. I admire, and would add the words of the wise and holy martyr, bishop Ridley—"these matters I am so fearful, that I dare not speak further, yea almost none otherwise, than the very text doth, and were, lead me by the hand."

¹ The latter clause is evidently spoken, not of pious persons holding the doctrine of the divine predestination, but of persons "without divine illumination"—"curious and carnal persons," as our Article speaks, "lacking the Spirit of Christ," "having continually before their eyes the sentence of God of predestination," in such a manner as to make it "a dangerous downfall," "either into desperation, or into recklessness of their conduct."

ur and are heavy-laden, and I will refresh
 Freely and faithfully, according to his
 will, God receives those that fly to his be-
 lieving Son, while he suffers those that despise
 him to fall under his dreadful anger."

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We will here collect a few passages from our
 author's familiar epistles, tending still further
 to show what were his sentiments and feelings
 at different stages of his progress.

Passages
 from
 Melanc-
 thon's let-
 ters, on the
 subject.

Brentius, about the year 1533. "You
 know, and by inferences from predestina-
 tion collect, that to every one is assigned his
 proper place," or "degree,"¹ whether of
 pain or glory: "and you reason rightly. But
 in the whole of my Apology² I avoided that
 and inextricable question of predestination.
 Every where speak as if predestination followed
 faith and works.³ And I do this designedly:
 I have no wish to entangle men's consciences
 in those endless labyrinths."⁴

At the same, 1538. "The bookseller wishes
 to publish my second exposition of the Epistle
 to the Romans, though it differs not at all
 from the former.⁵ I say the same things, and
 do so in the same manner. I wish not to
 introduce new dogmas, but to preserve the
 same simple and consistent doctrine as I follow

had at first understood him to mean, that Brentius had
 not been aloof from predestination:" but, from his apparently
 persisting in his own course with that of his friend, I have
 adhered to the translation which I have given of words per-
 haps somewhat ambiguous: "Tu subtiliter et procul
 a predestinatione colligis cuilibet suum gradum distribu-
 ere et rectè ratiocinaris."

In the Defence of the Confession, I presume.

I suppose he would concur with those who refer
 these verses as Rom. xi. 5, 6, to some other subject than
 salvation.

Epist. vi. p. 379.

⁵ First published in 1538

in my Common Places, and as I before followed on the Romans. But, though I know that some love harsher (*horridiora*) sentiments on some points, under the heads of predestination, contingency, and other topics, yet I judge what I write to be both true and useful. I so temper things, however, that I hope not to offend those who maintain severer tenets—*morosiores* I see that time has softened some who censured me for not speaking more harshly (*horridè*) on these subjects.”¹

To Vitus Theodorus, 1537. “You know that I speak less harshly on the subjects of predestination, the consent of the will, the necessity of obedience,² and mortal sin. On all these points, however, I know that Luther substantially (*re ipsa*) agrees with me: but some ill-informed persons are too fond of certain more bold expressions of his; (*periculosius onerosiora, arrogantiora*;) not perceiving the tendency. I enter into no controversies with them: let them enjoy their own judgments but then let them allow me, as a Peripatetic and fond of moderation, to speak less like a Stoic.—You have here the sum of the whole business.”⁴

1547. “I am no Stoic, and I contend more valiantly against the school of Zeno, on the subject of fate, than our warriors have lately contended on the Danube and the Elbe. I am of opinion that our present calamities have not

¹ Epist. vi. p. 385-6.

² Above p. 125.

³ “At first Melancthon united with Luther in condemning Aristotle . . . but he very soon altered his opinion,” &c. He “attempted the revival of the pure peripatetic philosophy though he agreed with Luther on the subject of the scholastic system.” Cox, p. 48 &c. 2d. edit.—See also Bayle, at *Melancthon*.

⁴ Epist. vi. p. 444-5.

upon us through any Stoical necessity. They have been drawn down by causes which long ago observed, while our people were indulging their vices in security and insensibility."¹

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18. To Cranmer, in one of the letters he quoted.² "I could wish, as I wrote on a former occasion, that a summary of necessary doctrine, drawn up by the united counsels of learned and pious men, uninfluenced by private interests might be published, and that no ambivalence might be bequeathed to posterity, to serve as the apple of discord among them I wish you think of such a measure Among ourselves, in our early days, discussions, so harsh (*horrida*) and Stoical a cast, concerning fate, were carried on: which proved injurious to good order."³

Peucer, without date. I am informed, that at Geneva such fierce contests are carried on the subject of Stoical necessity, that one man has been shut up in prison for differing from Zeno!⁴ Oh, how is it to be lamented,

dist. ii. 347. ² Above, p. 155. ³ Epist. iii. 42.

In these passages the reader may be referred to Dr. Hume, v. 334. (924). The predestination of Calvin, cannot be confounded with the fate of Zeno. May I be allowed to refer to a section on the distinction between them, in the works of the Rev. T. Scott, viii. 259—266.—In addition to the works of Melancthon here quoted, the *Consilia*, under date of 1549, (ii. 110—115,) contain two, against "the necessity of the Stoics;" maintaining that the Divine is a perfectly free agent, and that he "neither wills, approves, nor causes sin." The author adduces as evidence cited by one of the interpreters of P. Lombard, may shew the absurd and profane reasonings in which speculators indulged. It asserted that, "though God, in use, assists men in sinful acts, he does not sin himself, for he is above law, and may do what he will!" Melancthon justly exclaims with horror against a sentiment, or

that the salutary doctrine of the gospel should be obscured by disquisitions which are foreign to it! But let us pray the Son of God to direct us.”¹

1559. “A brave warrior in Homer wishes for peace in these terms, ‘May contention perish from among both gods and men!’ How much more does it become me, an infirm old man, to wish for peace!—Thirty years ago, not from the love of dispute, but for the glory of God, and for the sake of wholesome discipline, I censured the Stoical paradoxes concerning necessity—for they are dishonourable to God and injurious to morals. But, in what sentiments anxious minds may repose, I have explained in my Answers to the Bavarian Inquisition.”²

Real
amount of
the changes
made by
Melanc-
thon.

The attentive reader will perceive that I have stated a greater change of opinion in Melancthon on some points, than from Dr. Milner's account he might have been led to expect. But it may perhaps be questioned whether that learned writer, at the time of his last publication, had accomplished that accurate comparison of the different editions of the Common Places which he contemplated.³ And, after all, when the case is fairly considered, the difference between our accounts will not be found so important as it might at first sight appear. Dr. M. urges in opposition to the idea of any material change having taken place in Melancthon's sentiments, 1. A letter of his to Erasmus, in which he “very clearly intimates that he

remote from, so directly opposed to, the high and holy doctrine of scripture, that moral evil is impossible to the Blessed God, not because of his greatness, but because of the absolute and immutable holiness of his nature.

¹ Epist. ii. 416. ² Epist. ii. 347. ³ See note above, p. 183.

COMMON PLACES.

continued in the same sentiments with her :” 2. His defence of himself against ius in the year 1549,¹ in which he says, “ I still of the same opinion that I was when I wrote my Theological Tracts :” 3. That, notwithstanding any concessions which either he or Luther had made, “ both these eminent writers are uniformly steady in asserting the practical doctrine of original sin, and the natural enmity of the human heart to the holy will of God :” 4. A letter of his to Calvin in the year 1543,² in which, after exhibiting rather different views of the later editions of his work, than those of the early ones, he says, “ I am satisfied that these views of mine agree with your’s ; they are stated in a ruder or less refined manner.”³ Now, if we consider the precise limits to which the changes in question were restricted, or nearly restricted, I trust we shall find that these representations are not inconsistent with the facts before us.

At then the two very distinct senses in which the term *freedom of the will* is used, the two very different subjects to which it has been applied, that it is applied, be considered,—the one referring only to the great practical question of human depravity, the other to the

see Epist. i. 10, or Consil. ii. 105.

The very year when the last great revision of the Common Places was published.

Milner, v. 330—333. (921—923.) It is to be observed, Melancthon kept up a most friendly correspondence with Calvin (“ amicissimum per literas commercium,” Haneberg, i. 1.) to the end of his life. He addresses him, “ verecunde vir et carissime frater,” in the year 1557. (ibid. vi. p. 323.) We might further adduce the fact, as mentioned, of Calvin’s prefixing a preface to a new version of Melancthon’s Common Places, in 1551, which shews that our information respecting it is imperfect.—ibid., 174.

abstruse, metaphysical, and to us incomprehensible one, of the compatibility of the Creator's universal controlling influence with the creature's free agency; and let it be remembered that Melancthon's alteration of views related mainly to the latter of these subjects; while he still asserted the corruption of fallen man, and the necessity of divine grace to his recovery, in nearly as strong terms as ever: and we shall then find little difficulty in understanding his declarations, that his views of Christian truth were unchanged, and that he taught substantially the same doctrine as Calvin himself did. Dr. Milner's positions will here fully hold good—that Melancthon never materially altered his sentiments “on the bondage of the will, *or what is the very same thing, on the propensity of human nature to evil:*” and again, that “in the grand Christian article of original sin, and the total inability of man, and the necessity of the renovating grace of Christ, Melancthon was as sound and as steady as Luther himself; though perhaps he did not on all occasions grasp his objects with the force and the distinctness of his master.”¹

How far
Luther
concurred
in them.

Only one further point remains to be considered, namely, how far Luther concurred with his friend, or differed from him, in this mitigation, this softening down of his sentiments on the subjects in question. Now, in the first place, though in his work on the *Bondage of the Will* (published in the year 1525,) Luther avows the same high doctrine as Melancthon had done, concerning “the divine predestination taking away all liberty” in the creature, and

¹ Milner, v. 333. (924.)

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maintenances some most objectionable statements concerning God's "working both good and evil in us,"¹ yet these subjects come but incidentally in his way, his book being in effect, a treatise on human depravity. "The doctrine maintained by Luther," Dr. Milner says, "cannot, I think, be comprehended and expressed in fewer or clearer words than those of our church; namely, that, *as fallen creatures, we have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God,*" &c.²—Nor have I observed any thing of that exceptionable kind in his later works.—Again, as has already been remarked, Luther left no recorded disapprobation of the changes in Melancthon's work, which are clear and decisive upon these high points. To the contrary, he continued to the last to bestow upon it unqualified commendation. Thirdly, That he did ever mean to attach too strong a sense to the passages which occur on these subjects, in his early work, as we are apt to put upon them, may well be doubted from his remark on Erasmus's threefold statement of the doctrine under discussion between himself and Luther. "Some," says Erasmus, "affirm that a man can neither begin, carry on, nor finish any good thing, without the

¹ After reading over Luther's work itself, I can hardly quarrel in the sentiment of Dr. Milner, that Melancthon's expressions on the subject of predestination—certainly were more exceptionable, because less guarded, and more liable to abuse, than any thing advanced by Luther on this difficult article of religion." Milner, v. 334. (925.)—By the most serious language, however, of God's "working both evil as well as good, I am willing to hope that we are not to understand anything more than God's unceasing activity in every creature in life and action, each according to its own nature.

² Ib. 274. (862.)

continual aid of divine grace....Others, whose opinion is more objectionable, contend that the will can do evil only, and that grace performs all the good....But the most objectionable sentiment of all is, to call free will an empty name, and to say it is of no avail, either before grace or after it; for that God works both the good and the evil in us, and that all things are absolutely necessary." Now what was Luther's remark on this statement made by Erasmus? He says, "You make three opinions here, when in reality, as far as I am concerned, there is but one....I call God to witness, *I intended the terms used in the two latter opinions, neither to convey or intimate a sentiment different from what is expressed in the first opinion.*"¹ This is much to be marked.—Lastly, it can hardly have failed to be observed, how very undefined, how popular and almost entirely practical, are all the passages which have been adduced, either by Dr. Milner or myself, from this great reformer's writings, on the subject of the destination of men to eternal life.² In both he and Melancthon but sparingly apply the doctrine to the great and awful subject of human salvation, to which in modern times we are apt almost exclusively to apply it. The term predestination, seems, in the apprehension of numbers, synonymous or nearly synonymous with election or its opposite; though it is obvious that the former term has an unlimited extent, while the latter is confined to a particular subject: and it is in the wide view rather than the restricted one, that both Lu

¹ In Milner, v. 277-8. (865.)

² See Milner, v. 329, 514—518. (919, 1114, &c.)
Continuation, i. 241, 333-4.

Meiancthon seem chiefly to contemplate
:trine.

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may now then be prepared to form some
ment of the ground which exists for Dr.
ne's assertion, that "the doctrines of
e predestination, irresistible grace, and
impotence were never carried to a more
ve length, nor maintained with a more
t obstinacy, by any divine, than they were
her."¹ As applied to all his writings
ient, at least, to the year 1530, I oppose
e testimony of Dr. Milner, confirmed by
ich has come under my own notice:
Saxon theologian, though he denied, as
re repeatedly seen, the existence of all
ability to save a lost sinner, as also the
r of all human qualifications to merit
; and though he ascribed salvation to
alone, and to the merciful will of God;
the delicate question of predestination,
displayed that moderation by which his
was uniformly influenced upon all doc-
nquiries *except one*;² and, content with
cripture had revealed, he never under-
explain this difficult subject with any
like a systematical precision; much less
ever think proper to propose the arduous
tions concerning the divine decrees as
ry articles of a Christian's faith."³—But
ly turn to topics on which pious Christ-
e more generally agreed.

Dr. Mac-
laine's
unfounded
statement.

he subject of "sin, original and actual," I
material difference in the doctrine of the
it editions of Meiancthon's work. The
n of a few harsh expressions, and of all

Meiancthon
is the,

allusion to the *necessity* which had been taught under the former head in the early copies, seems to be the sum of the changes made, except in the way of enlargement. My selections therefore will be taken from the last class of editions, both as exhibiting the author's latest statements, and as carrying most weight to those who would fain believe that Melancthon relaxed in his doctrines generally.

In the opening of this topic he remarks the difference between the instructions of divine revelation concerning sin, and those of philosophy. "Though all nations are sensible of the horrible disorders, the vices and the calamities of the human race, and thus feel the burden of sin, yet the church of God alone teaches whence sin comes, what is its nature, and what its consequences—in the anger of God, and the punishments, both temporal and eternal, proceeding from it. And, though human wisdom may direct men's conduct, and reprobate and punish things done contrary to the dictates of reason, yet it has no perception of what specially belongs to sin, namely, guilt before God, or exposure to his wrath. Alexander felt that he had done amiss in killing his friend Clitus, and lamented the outrage he had committed upon the dictates of nature: but he grieved not for having offended God, and for the guilt he had contracted in *his* sight. But the church declares the anger of God against sin, and shews it to be a far greater evil than human reason supposes.—Nor does the church of Christ condemn only external acts at variance with the word of God, or with reason, as philosophy does: she extends her condemnation equally to the root and to all the fruits of sin—to the darkness of the mind, and its doubts

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turning the divine will;¹ to the aversion
of human will from God, and the rebellion
of the heart against his law; and particularly
to ignorance and contempt of the Son
of God. These are sad and atrocious evils, the
mortality of which cannot be told. Therefore
the apostle says, The Holy Spirit shall convince
the world of sin—because they believe not on

With respect to *original sin*, three points original,
have been distinguished:³ 1. "The fault and
depravation of the nature of every man engen-
dered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man
is from far gone from original righteousness,
and of his own nature inclined unto evil:"⁴
2. The criminality, or "desert of God's wrath
and damnation,"⁴ which this corrupt disposi-
tion necessarily carries with it: and, 3. The
imputation of the guilt of Adam's trans-
gression to his posterity. On the last point,
distinguished from the other two, it may be
observed, our Article is silent: but it appears
from the theologians, whose errors the reformers
oppose, *confined* original sin to the last
two particulars only; made "the infection
and tainture" to be *exclusively* the *punishment*
of Adam's sin; and denied that it was itself
a sin, involving in it guilt, or desert of punish-
ment.⁵—These observations may throw light
on our Church Article, and on the passages
which follow from Melancthon.

These he considers as proceeding from the effects of
blinding and confusing the understanding.

lit. 1546, p. 88, 89. Op. i. 169, 170.

Id. i. 32.

⁴ Church Art.

The scholastic doctors are of opinion, that
the guilt, that is the imputation, by which
men are guilty and condemned, on account
of original sin, is not a thing in itself, but
they deny that it is itself sin, or a thing in itself.

He defines original sin (a point which has been supposed one of much nicety and difficulty,) to be, "The want of original righteousness; that is, it is in every one born of the human race the loss of light in the understanding, aversion of the will from God, and rebellion of the heart against the divine law, following upon the fall of Adam; on account of which corruption men are born guilty, and children of wrath, that is condemned by God—unless remission of sin take place."—He adds, "If any one imagines that original sin is *merely* guilt, incurred by the fall of Adam, without *depravity* in ourselves, he errs. But, if any one contends that we are guilty from our birth, *both* on account of Adam's fall and of our own innate depravity, I have no objection to his adding that particular to the definition."¹

He then gives proofs from scripture. We will quote some of his remarks on two or three passages.

Romans v. "*By the offence of one all are dead. On account of the fall of Adam therefore others are guilty. And, that they may not be supposed to be so without the propagation of corruption, it is added, Death passed upon all, because all have sinned.*"

Romans viii. "*The carnal mind is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. This is a sad and horrible description of the human race: for the words clearly shew, that it is not actual sin*

deserving condemnation. They make it the punishment of sin, and a thing intermediate," or "indifferent" in itself. —"They make concupiscence" (or "inclination to evil") "to be the punishment of sin, not sin itself."—*Melanc. Loci*, edit. 1538, p. 83, 86. edit. 1546, p. 95. Op. i. 171.

¹ Edit. 1546, p. 93, 94. Op. i. 170.

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which is spoken of, but the evil inherent very nature, which he calls *enmity against*—What could be said more awful, than he nature of man is hostile to God? ¹—, that he constantly carries about with arkness and doubts concerning God; a ssness which neglects God; a distrust n, which shuns his presence; and comed rebellion against him.—Secure and ie persons understand not these hidden f the heart; but the church acknowledges with a broken and contrite spirit.”—And ards, recurring to the same passage, he “Words cannot explain the *amplitude* Paul’s expression: but let the thoughts pon it: let us look into ourselves, and wledge and bewail our pollution, and fly e gospel (the glad tidings) concerning a ator.”

hesians ii. “*We were by nature children ath, even as others.* Children of wrath is rew phrase: it signifies guilty, or con- ed. The apostle affirms, therefore, that en, the posterity of Abraham, as well as s, are condemned; not only for their actual es, but for that corruption of nature which ing with us into the world—not contract example.” ²

ese, be it remembered, are the statements n who was ever esteemed one of the very st of the reformers, and that at a time his sentiments were matured, and inc, greatly softened down.

it should be thought that our author has tract term, *enmity*—not merely *love* some have insisted upon, let it be and not merely one, are abstract as 72632.

LL 1546, p. 95, &c. Op. I. 171.

After citing various other scriptures, he says, "These passages shew the accordance of the prophets and the apostles. But such brief sentences appear to glide over the ears of men without making an impression. In our blindness and security, we perceive not the greatness of our danger. Men at their ease, intoxicated with pleasures, inflated with vain glory, make light of the wrath of God; and, under the influence of self-love, palliate such evils as disbelief of God—neglect of God—confidence in their own wisdom and powers—pride, ambition, and the fire of lust."¹

Can we here again help repeating our remark on the spirit in which this learned professor teaches theology to his pupils—for to them was his work originally, at least, addressed. His lectures on each successive subject are all suited to awaken life and feeling in the heart and conscience, as well as to enlighten the understanding.

At the close of his scriptural testimonies, he observes: "The Pelagians deny the whole doctrine of original sin, and reject the very name. The moderns, as Occam and many others, retain the name, but fritter away the thing. They deny that those inward evils, which have been enumerated, are transgressions of the law of God: . . . they call them only the punishments of original sin, when they are, in reality, both punishments of the fall of Adam and sins in every person born into the world."

mortal, and
venial.

In speaking of *mortal and venial sins*, he says that all sins are mortal which are not venial of—all that reign in us; and that

¹ Ed. 1546. p. 96, &c. Op. i.

² Ed. 1546. p. 100. Op. i.

God in Christ none are so, which are repented and dethroned: such are all pardoned. But," he adds, "we are not, with the schoolmen, to extenuate venial, or pardonable sins. O: even those which are so classed are immense evils, at war with the law of God, and in their own nature mortal—that is, such as would bring upon men the eternal wrath of God, unless, for Christ's sake, they were pardoned to those who are reconciled to God through him."¹

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We must observe, that Melancthon, in this part of his work, decidedly maintains that believers may fall from grace, lose the Holy spirit, and forfeit the favour of God—by yielding to sins which do violence to the conscience; ² and he reckons the contrary among "stoical doctrines." Yet in the worst of cases, he observes, the fallen are never to suffer the magnitude of their offences to deter them from returning to God—"for grace superabounds above sin."³—Of this subject of *perseverance*, I have not observed any notice in the editions of either the first or the second period.—Though many will disagree with what our author has delivered concerning it in the editions of the last period, no pious mind can fail to be warned and edified by his remarks on the necessity of resisting the first beginnings of evil. "Saul cherished the first spark of envy, which might easily have been extinguished" by one endued, as he conceives Saul to have been, with the Holy Spirit. "Sin therefore began to reign in him: the anger of the Holy Spirit was offended,

On falling
from grace.

¹ i. 174-5.

² Bugenhagenus, and Me-

³ 176.

and driven away ; and the mind of Saul, now deserted by God, becomes weak, and yields more and more to its evil passions : the devil redoubles his assaults : the murder of the priests, and many other crimes follow : till Saul destroys himself, and rushes into eternal misery.—His case is to be contemplated, that we may learn the great anger of God against sin.—Indeed all histories are full of sad examples, in reading which we should reflect thus : ‘ By these instances I am taught how awful a thing it is to have sin reigning in me.’—We ought daily to adopt the prayer, *Order my steps in thy word, and let not any iniquity have dominion over me*, that I become not a vessel of wrath ; that I be not rejected, like Cain, or Saul, or Judas, or Ahab, or Nero, and others who have been the curses of mankind.”¹

In the earlier editions he concludes this whole topic of *sin* with the following passage. “ You have then, reader, what it seemed proper to me to say of our innate corruption. More will not be required by those who would form their sentiments rather from the reading and meditation of the word of God, than from human commentaries. No expositions can satisfy those whose minds, confounded by doubtful disputations, and the various opinions of men, relish only carnal things. The most sure and most simple teacher is the Spirit of God, who has expressed himself clearly and distinctly in the divine word. When your mind is transformed so as to harmonize with that word, then will you with certainty, simplicity, and exactness comprehend the most other theological topics. . . .”

¹ Edit. 1546. p. 114, 115

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not on the decision of the Spirit, but on human opinions, see not things themselves, but only indistinct and unsubstantial shadows of them. For what one among the philosophers or the school divines has discerned the real nature of virtue or vice? These false theologues measured original sin only by external works; while they were blind to the deeply seated disease within, the corruption of the heart itself. And, even when they discovered the depravity of some affections of the mind, they still remained blind to others, and particularly to those which are specially obnoxious to God—blasphemy, hatred of God, self-love, distrust of God, and innumerable others, which are so inherent in man, that, far from having their seat only in the sensitive appetite, as some pretend, they have occupied every part of our nature, and hold it in captivity.”¹

No subject can be more important, and there are few on which the reformers treat more strikingly, than the law of God, considered as the instrument of the Holy Spirit in convincing men of sin, and, generally, as subservient to the gospel of Christ.

On the
divine law.

In the earlier editions of his Common Places, Melanethon had declined commenting on the decalogue, though he considered it as a most excellent summary of all the preceptive parts of scripture, presenting “a rich and sublime doctrine” worthy of our constant meditation: but in the later editions he boldly offers a commentary on each of the twelve. We

¹ Edit. Augusti, 36. r.

² It is remarkable, that the same, and probably the same, division of the law into two parts, and, to keep

I have
the
the
two

CHAP.
XII.Its
spirituality,

must confine ourselves to a very few general notices.

He ever keeps in mind the "spirituality" of the law, or its extending to all the thoughts and affections of the heart, and not only to the outward conduct ; and its consequent utter condemnation of all those wrong tempers of the heart, towards God and towards our fellow creatures, which he had pointed out under the preceding head. In this respect, the true doctrine of the law had been utterly corrupted in the preceding ages ; as in all ages, and among all sorts of persons, it is apt to fall into oblivion. "Human laws," our author observes, "require or forbid only outward actions ; moral philosophy extends somewhat further, and requires right intentions : but it charges not upon us our natural impurity, nor reprehends those paramount offences against the first table of the law, doubt concerning God, a heart destitute of his fear and love, distrust of him, and the like evils inherent in the nature of fallen man.... But the law of God requires the obedience of our whole nature—a sure knowledge of God, a true and constant fear of him, firm confidence in him, ardent love for him.¹ And, because these affections are not now natural to us, the law is the voice of God condemning the sins of our nature.... But the monks have treated the law of God as

¹ It has been with no small surprise that I have found Melancthon, in his earlier days, holding the monstrous and self-contradictory notion of the love of God necessarily involving a willingness to perish for ever among his enemies, if this should be for his glory, and agreeable to his pleasure concerning us ! Edit. Augusti, 29, 49. I was unwilling so to understand the first of these passages ; but the second is unequivocal. All this however disappeared on the revision of his work.

a mere rule of social life. They have taught that it was satisfied by external works, and some good intention of the will—though doubts possessed the understanding, and many evil inclinations occupied the heart. These they have declared not to be sins: and hence they have pretended that men are righteous and acceptable to God for their works, because they supposed the law of God to be thus easily satisfied.”¹

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Of the “exceeding breadth” also of the divine law, as demanding absolute *perfection* in all points, he speaks in the most unqualified manner. “It requires perfect obedience to God, and denounces his wrath, and the punishment of eternal death against those who do not yield it.”¹

and
exceeding
breadth.

To the objection of the impossibility of man's performing such obedience, and the alleged incredibility of God's having given laws which his creatures are incapable of fulfilling, he replies by admitting the impossibility, and contending that the argument urged against it implies an entire misapprehension of the design of the Law as given to fallen man. On this subject he adduces two ~~examples~~ which had been quoted from St. Jerome; “Let him be accursed, who says that God hath commanded things impossible;” and again, “Let him be accursed, who says that the law can be fulfilled without divine grace.” And on the former he remarks, “Whatever were the original occasion of this sentence, they who cite and inculcate it deliberately, that they do not understand the purposes for which the law of God was given to man. ~~It was given~~

on the
possibility
of keeping
it

¹ See Matt. 23: 23, 24, 25, 26.

² See Matt. 23: 23, 24, 25, 26.

judges, that laws are enacted only that they may be obeyed. But the law of God was given specially for the purpose of declaring God's judgment against sin. God would have his anger (against sin) to be known: and by the voice of the law he discovers to us our sins. It was just that God should be loved with the whole heart: and, because we do not thus love him, therefore the law accuses us, and denounces wrath against us. . . . However offensive then it may be to human wisdom to assert, that the law of God is impossible to be performed, yet this is true concerning our fallen nature. And it is necessary that this truth be declared in the church, that the difference between the divine law and human laws may be perceived: and also that the greatness of Christ's benefit may be felt—who takes away our sins, because the law could not do it." Hence he repeatedly quotes the sentences, "The impossibility of law;"¹ "If there had been a law given which could have given life;" "By the law is the knowledge of sin;" "The law worketh wrath;" and, "The ministration of death," and "of condemnation."²—He adverts also to the design of the law as a rule of life to those who are reconciled to God through the Mediator: but his statements on this subject we shall notice hereafter.

Difference
between the
law and the
gospel.

All this is closely connected with a subject on which the reformers constantly insist as of the utmost importance, but the just views of which, they asserted, had long disappeared from the church; namely, the difference be-

¹ Τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου. Rom. viii. 3.

² Gal. iii. 21. Rom. iii. 20. iv. 15. 1 Cor. xv. 56. 2 Cor. iii. 7, 9.—Edit. 1546, p. 86, 87, 120, 123—125, 168—170. Op. i. 169, 176, 177, 188.

it has been justly said, combines the apparently opposite errors, of pharisaism and antinomianism : the former, by teaching men to rely on their own imperfect obedience, and not simply on Christ ; the latter, by making the Most Holy to require only what is imperfect—that is to tolerate, or even sanction evil.—This answer shews, therefore, an utter misapprehension of both the law and the gospel.—‘ But what,’ it may be asked, ‘ is it not true, that under the gospel persons who render a sincere, but yet imperfect obedience, shall be saved? and that those who withhold such obedience shall not be saved?’ It is : but the error lies,—and a most essential error it is—in mistaking the *place* to be assigned to Christian obedience, and the *purposes* which it is to answer. It is not to take the place which perfect obedience under the law, or covenant of works, was to hold : that is, it is in no way or degree to answer the purpose of justifying us, or forming our title to eternal life. That purpose is to be answered by the “ obedience unto death ” of the Son of God for us, and by that exclusively : and our interest in his merits for our justification is to be attained only by faith in him—*simply receiving* the benefit which is *freely given*.—Then again, though the faith through which we are thus justified must be a “ living faith,” which “ works by love,” and *produces* obedience, yet, considered as achieving our justification, it is not properly said to *include* obedience : the obedience which it produces by no means goes before our justification, to take any part in *procuring* us that blessing, but it “ follows after,”¹ to *prove* us justified.

¹ Church Art. xii.

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1560.

in this way only is it that the gospel of 'sincere but imperfect obedience:' a substitute for the perfect obedience required by the law, (for that the merits of are the real and only substitute,) but for another purpose—the purpose only of showing the sincerity of our faith and love, a purpose which it may well answer, though it never satisfy any law, that the absolute holiness of the Divine Being could suffer to be promulgate. "Faith is the only hand that putteth on Christ to justification, and the only garment which, being so put on, covereth the shame of our defiled natures, the imperfection of our works, precluding us blameless in the sight of God; before which otherwise the weakness of our faith were sufficient to make us culpable—yea, to shut us from the kingdom of heaven, where that which is not absolute can enter." ¹

And, we venture to affirm, are the views of our own Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy, which those of the reformers at large. Let us see how they are exhibited in this important work of Melancthon.²

Chapter of Justification. § 31.

It may be thought that in these observations I have been only on the *obedience* of Christ, as performed for our redemption and not merely on his atoning sufferings, than Melancthon does in the following extracts; I admit that I may be so: and in doing it I think I am borne out by the writings, as well as by the writings of our church, whose doctrine is, "He for them paid their ransom by his death: in him *fulfilled the law in his life*; so that now in him, every true Christian man may be called a *fulfiller of the law*." Yet on the precise way of stating this there is no controversy with any man, who explicitly denies the idea, that, when Christ has once freed us from condemnation, we are to intitle ourselves to eternal life by our own obedience; and who from first to last ascribes

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XII.

The gospel.

“ Christ has not succeeded to Moses’ place, by propounding a new law, called the gospel.. he only explains the law already given, because grace cannot be proclaimed without the law.... He preaches the law, because without the law sins cannot be known ; and, where sin is not felt, the force and riches of grace cannot be understood. Neither the gospel can be rightly and successfully taught without the law, nor the law without the gospel.”—“ But, when you reflect thus, ‘ How great is the misery of mankind, oppressed by sin, by the wrath of God, and by death ! ’ and when you perceive that the voice of the law is the sentence, the bond, the witness, and the announcer of God’s immense wrath against sin ; then always look upon the Son of God standing close at hand : consider his sacrifice, who alone sustained the wrath of God for us, bore the curse of the law, and propitiated the Father to us. Reflect on the benefit conferred by the Son—that it superabounds over sin.”—“ The promises of scripture are two fold. Some are annexed to the law ; but they carry with them the condition of fulfilling the law. These fall in with the dictates of natural reason—that God is gracious, but to the innocent and deserving. But those who are conscious that they are unworthy and unholy can hence derive no consolation. The other kind of promises are peculiar to the gospel : and these do not carry with them that condition of having fulfilled the law, as the ground of ob-

our acceptance, and admission to heaven, to “ the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith only.”—We may add, that Melancthon elsewhere, expressly in answer to the objection that “ the righteousness of Christ is no where in scripture said to be imputed to us,” quotes the three texts, Rom. v. 19. 1 Cor. i. 30. 2 Cor. v. 21.—Consil. ii. 140.

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1848.

the blessing, but propose it freely for his sake. Such are the promises of the remission of sins, reconciliation with God, or salvation, of which the gospel especially speaks. If these were suspended on the condition of fulfilling the law, so that we had to say, 'When I have satisfied the law, then I shall have forgiveness of sins : ' in this case, it must be the consequence. Therefore the blessings are given freely, not for our merit.—Yet some offering, some sacrifice was necessary for us : and for this cause Christ was crucified, and became our sacrifice, that we might be assured that we are acceptable to God for ever. . . . Hence St. Paul so urgently presses our notice this particle, *gratis, freely, of faith, that it might be by grace ; to the promise might be sure.*¹ This clause, especially, for Christ's sake, constitutes the essential difference between the gospel and the law. If we do not observe that the promise is gratuitous, doubt overhangs our minds, THE GOSPEL IS TRANSFORMED INTO THE LAW, and affords us no more assurance of forgiveness, or salvation, than the law did, or even than natural reason might do. . . . The mind's eye here must be fixed upon this particle, *gratis, freely.* Without this, it will find no consolation under genuine alarm and conscience."

He then traces this doctrine throughout the Scriptures. We can afford room for only one example on the Psalms, which may shew the cheering, delightful views which this genuine promise of the gospel presented to the minds of the reformers.—"To this subject, of the

¹ Rom. iii. 24. iv. 16, &c.

gratuitous remission of sins, are numerous other passages of the Psalms to be applied : and such an application will make those sacred songs sweet indeed to us, and full of rich consolation. If we judge the promises to depend upon our worthiness, then, when the Psalms bid us rejoice, and confide in the divine mercy, our consciences will always hold back, and urge that we are unworthy, and therefore without interest in the blessing. The mind therefore must be cheered and fortified against the distrust produced by our conscious unworthiness. But, when we perceive that reconciliation with God is promised us freely, then faith will become assured, we shall felicitate ourselves on the divine mercy, and give devout thanks to God. —But, alas ! such is the infirmity of the human mind, that it cannot admit the conception of so great riches of mercy. We are so overpowered with the notion of *law*, that we cannot believe *the gospel*, or be persuaded that mercy is offered *to all*, and to all *freely*. Faith therefore must maintain a perpetual conflict against this infirmity, that our views may be raised, and that we may learn to put confidence in God, and truly to call upon him and adore him.”¹

Other passages and other parts of the work abundantly guard this doctrine against the

¹ Edit. Augusti, 70—73. Edit. 1546, p. 125, 191, 198, 227. Op. i. 178, 193, 195, 201.—To these disquisitions on the gospel and its promises he studiously subjoins, that the promise is universal, open to all without exception ; and that this is specially to be noted in order to exclude “ dangerous notions concerning predestination,” and the “ mischievous discussions which had been raised upon that subject.” And this cautionary passage is found as well in the editions of the second series, (commencing eleven years before Luther’s death,) as in those of a later date. Ed. 1538, p. 156. Ed. 1546, p. 200. Op. i. 195.

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of imagining that any person can have embraced this "grace of God," and bested in it, and yet indulge his sins: the passages here given shew how the sers preached the gospel, and what doctrine was, which proved in their, as it had done in those of the apostles, "power of God unto salvation" to tens of thousands.

connexion with these exhibitions of the doctrine of "the law and the gospel," the admirably exposes the errors of the s on the subjects of supposed *counsels*, distinguished to *commands* of scripture, of supererogation, monastic vows, voluntary poverty, celibacy, and chastity.¹

idea that man may perform obedience beyond what the law of God demands, by of supererogation, he regards as the set of all the impositions ever practised tan upon purblind mortals. "This is he says, "a human notion, but an abscureasm of the devil, mocking and deriding indness into which he has betrayed us; when God has published his law, to shew at perfection man was created, and into ruin he has fallen, the devil should put n irony upon us, as to persuade us that n our present ruined state, we can even and that law!"²

Works of
Superero-
gation.

fine description of true Christian chastity, as opposed ish impositions; with the awful exhibition of the and vengeance of heaven against sins of impurity d by this accomplished scholar, who had passed his schools and universities; furnishes a section of the study of young men at our universities, or of er forms of our public schools. Edit. 1546. p. 10. Op. i. 191—193.

t. 1546, p. 122-3. Op. i. 178.

CHAP.
XII.

On the
nature of
Faith.

The subject of "justification" is much more copiously discussed, and with a perfect conformity in all the various editions: but after what has been adduced both here, and in speaking of others of our author's writings, it will be quite unnecessary to recur to it.

The nature of "faith" is also considered at large. The great point maintained is, that faith is not a mere assent to the truths of scripture—which it is acknowledged may exist without either love or obedience—but such a realizing belief of them as duly influences the mind. Particularly, it always includes a reliance upon Christ, and on the divine mercy through him alone.

Doctrine of
Assurance.

In speaking upon faith, it must here be acknowledged, as it was on a former occasion,¹ that the language of the reformers often verges too much towards making faith to consist in, or at least to include, an assurance of our own personal acceptance with God. In writing against the papists, they seem to consider a reliance upon our own works, or rather a consciousness that they will not support the reliance necessary to our repose, as the *only* obstacle to such assurance: and accordingly all their arguments for enforcing it are calculated to subvert this misplaced reliance, and to shew how firm a basis is laid for our hopes in the rich mercies of God, and the all-sufficient merits of Christ, without our own works or deservings. But here such questions as these, 'Am I indeed in Christ by faith? Is my repentance sincere, my faith living and availing?'—questions on the determination of which a well-founded assurance of our ac-

¹ Vol. i. 45-6.

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ance with God must essentially depend, which do not in the least trench on the true *ground* of acceptance—seem scarcely suggest themselves to their minds. Yet, the same writers come to treat the questions (evidently involved in that of *per-assurance*) of the evidences of our faith, the *proofs* that we are accepted of God, do it in such a way as demonstrates that we feel the great necessity of the inquiries we stated, and are prepared to give the best and most satisfactory answers to them.

All this we have a remarkable instance in Melancthon's work : and it will be the more striking as taken from the first edition, because we should not have been surprised had his comments on such a subject, at that very early date, been less discreet.

Having declared a mere historic assent to the truths of scripture, which produces no practical effect upon us, to be "mere opinion," reserving the name of faith at all ; he asks, "What then is faith ?" and he answers, "A belief of the whole word of God : " in stating which description of faith, he dwells on the idea of its regarding *every part* of the oracles, and being duly influenced by

Still it is obvious that such an account of faith, so far from establishing, must subvert the notion of its even including the assurance of personal acceptance ; it being no part of the revealed word of God that any particular individual is in the divine favour. That must be a matter of *inference* from what is wrought in the soul, as compared with the characters of the

See passages from Luther on this subject, vol. i. 152, 37.

justified laid down in scripture.—He then, however, proceeds to shew, that such a faith so immediately leads to “a reliance on the free mercy of God in Christ, without any regard to our own works, whether good or evil,” that the scriptures even include this reliance under the term faith. But, in doing this, he makes it abundantly evident that he means no mere otiose reliance, but that which puts itself forth in earnest “coming” to Christ, and “seeking” all the blessings of his salvation. And here it is, in displaying not only the amplitude of God's mercy in Christ, but the peace and comfort and joy which we may well derive from looking off entirely from our own unworthiness, and resting upon the divine mercy alone, that he adopts that language which would be fully understood to imply, that faith *consists* in believing that our sins are forgiven us—that God is reconciled to us personally, and that we stand fully accepted to his favour.—But let the reader proceed forward, and he will come to the following questions: “How may a man know that he is in the favour of God? Can it be known that faith exists in our hearts?” And the sum of the answers which are returned is, 1. That, simply on the ground of his own constant declarations in his word, we are to be fully assured of God's good will towards us *generally*—that he is *ready* to receive us graciously, and to love us freely. To doubt this is to distrust the veracity of God himself, and is direct unbelief.¹ But, 2. as to the

¹ So, edit. 1546, p. 233. Op. i. 203, the point in question believed is thus stated, “You are commanded to believe the promise by faith; to be assured to pardon you, and receive you; that he will do this, and in this faith to call upon him.”

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on whether we have actually "received
oly Spirit in our hearts," and are thus
e in the highest sense "the children
l by faith in Jesus Christ," this is to be
l, says our author, *by his fruits*. "The
of the Spirit attest to us that the Spirit
th in us. *They that are Christ's have
ed the flesh*. Every one must be con-
whether from his inmost soul he hates
shors sin or not; whether he fears God,
usts in God. Hypocrisy indeed aims to
rfeit the work of the Spirit: but trial
the difference" between the real grace
e false semblance of it.¹

r the topics of the Gospel, Grace, Faith,
ustification, which have been noticed,
"Good Works" is copiously discussed;
nder it are considered the five following
ns: What are the works to be done—
hey may be performed—In what way
re pleasing to God—Why they are to be
-And what is the distinction between the
be found even in true Christians, and
which mark the unrenewed.

the first we need offer no extract. The
to be done are "all those which are any
commanded in the word of God, and
h the decalogue exhibits a summary:"
e must remember, that "the obedience
heart," and not merely the external
the thing required.

he second, "we are to know, that, when

and exuberant mercy of Almighty God
freely and fully to receive into his favour sh
to him through Christ, is a subject whic
ever set forth in a most beautiful and too

¹ Edit. Augusti, 91 98 99, 116, 121, 122.

On Good
Works.

the alarmed conscience is comforted by faith, the Holy Spirit is at the same time given, who excites new affections in the heart, corresponding to the law of God." The gift of the Spirit, however, is not to supersede watchfulness and diligence, but to excite them, and to render them successful.

The third point can scarcely be misapprehended, if what has already passed in review be duly considered. "First the person himself is accepted to the divine favour through faith in Christ; and then his works, the fruits of faith and love, are acceptable also, through the same Saviour."

On the fourth, he observes, The reasons for which good works are to be done are "numerous—the necessity of them—their worthiness in themselves—the rewards attached to them. The *necessity* of them also is manifold, arising from the command of God—what is essentially his due—and because without obedience faith cannot be retained, or punishment avoided. The ordination of God is eternal and unchangeable, that the creature must obey the will of the Creator."

In speaking of the punishments which will assuredly follow disobedience, he notices very strikingly the consequences of the sins of David and Solomon. "All punishments," he observes, "are of wide extent: sins are often punished by other sins, and numbers become involved in the consequences: and all this may be traced to the offence of one. What crimes, what desperation, what blasphemies, what sad events did the fall of David produce! Solomon's worshipping idols was the cause of the separation of the ten tribes, which entailed discords in religion, [and even the loss of true religion,]

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and perpetual wars among the people. God would have us deeply to consider such examples, that we may fear his anger, and consult for our own safety and that of others. ...Endless sins and scandals follow from one fall."

The "worthiness" of good and holy works, of which he speaks, is not their competency to procure for us remission of sins, or to recommend us to God, but their fitness for us to practise—their being "*worthy* of our vocation," tending to glorify God, and benefit our fellow creatures.

The "rewards" attached to them, though unmerited and conferred of grace alone, for the sake of the Mediator, are yet rich and glorious, both in the present life, and in that which is to come, as various scriptures demonstrate.

"Let us resist, therefore," he exhorts, "our unbelief, and perform the works appointed us: and, when we feel them to be difficult, let us stir up the spirit of faith and prayer, and look to the rewards proposed to us: let us be solicitous for the church universal, for the state under which we live, for our own salvation: and, for the sake of all these objects, let us increase our diligence in our callings, and in governing our lives according to the will of God."

On the last head, of "the sins found in the children of God," we are to observe, that they are not outward, known sins, done in despite of conscience; but the evils of the heart, which cannot be wholly expelled in the present state, and the failures and offences into which we fall through infirmity of the flesh, notwithstanding much watching and prayer; but of which we

On the sins
of the chil-
dren of God.

speedily repent, fly to Christ for the pardon of them, and increase our watchfulness against them.¹

Other topics which follow are, The difference between the Old Testament and the New—The Church—Sacraments—Repentance—Confession—Predestination—Christ's kingdom—The resurrection of the dead—The spirit and the letter—Sufferings and the cross—Prayer—Magistracy and political government—Ceremonies of human appointment—The mortification of the flesh—Scandals—Christian liberty. Only a few of these need be here distinctly noticed.

On the difference between the Old Testament and the New.

In speaking on the “difference between the Old Testament and the New,” he in the early editions makes use of crude and dangerous language concerning the moral law being abrogated, the gospel being without all conditions, and believers doing things agreeable to the law, “not because the law requires them, but because the Spirit naturally prompts those who are under his influence to do such things.” Yet even here it is made sufficiently manifest to the attentive reader, that he means only that the law is abrogated to the believer *as a covenant* according to which he is to stand or fall, not *as a rule* which is to direct his life, and for every deviation from which he needs repentance, and pardon through the blood of Christ: and in the later editions all such language is carefully expunged, nay, the contrary of what it appeared to convey is asserted. “The ceremonial and the judicial, or civil, laws of Moses are abrogated: but those which have their foundation in the nature of things are permanent. Among

¹ Edit. 1546, p. 237—271. Op. i. 204—212.

is the decalogue, which is the chief part of the law, for the sake of which the rest was abolished. . . . It is the eternal and unchangeable announcement of the divine mind against

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the subject of "the sacraments," he defines in the main a very wise and holy doctrine of the Lord's supper, as Augusti observes, "briefly noticed in the first editions, as to which rather passed over than discussed:" but the same editor affirms, that from the author's works of that period it appears, that, a short time before the publication of the Common Prayer, Melancthon's mind was not emancipated from the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation, though he would not number it among the essentials of faith." In the latter part of his life, before the death of Luther, he is said to have been much weaned from that reformer's doctrine of consubstantiation, and ready to embrace in more just and scriptural views, which he determined to avoid controversy upon the subject: and it is remarkable, that, in the second series of editions of the Common Prayer, nothing appears in the discussion of the Lord's supper, on the *mode* of Christ's presence at that sacrament; and, in the third series, going beyond a sentence or two from the first.²

On the
sacraments.

Op. i. 1546, p. 316. See also p. 171: "As to obedience, which still remains in force: for the divine ordination is not changed, that the justified must obey God." Compare p. 253. Again, p. 253: "Let us not dream that God regards only outward works: he both regards them and requires obedience. He visits wilful disobedience, contrary to conscience, with dreadful punishments, both temporal and eternal." Op. i. 1548, 209, 208.

It is one of the topics on which Augusti exhibits the Common Prayer as it stands in all the three sets of editions: pp. 218

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XII.

On the
spirit and
the letter.

We will conclude our review of the work an abstract of the section on "the spirit and letter," which will afford another specimen of the rich vein of evangelical sentiment and feeling that pervades the mind and the writing of the author.

"The *letter*," he says, "includes whatever doctrines, thoughts, habits, discipline, or purposes exist without the Holy Spirit, is, without the genuine fear of God, without true faith or confidence in him comfort to the mind through the knowledge of Christ's communion with him.

"The *spirit*, on the other hand, signifies the Holy Spirit commencing, and by degrees affecting, in our minds a new light, wisdom

—240. That of the second series appears to be the most impressive.

The *Consilia* of Melancthon contain some papers, written in the latter part of his life, on the questions respecting the sacrament disputed among the protestants. In 1559 he advises a friend, "in order to avoid contentions, to write to himself with that simplicity of language which he (Melancthon) had employed in the recent editions of his *Consilia* Places." *Consil.* ii. 226. In a paper addressed to the Elector of the Palatine in 1559, he says, "It would be best in this controversy to adhere to the words of S. Paul, *The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ*, and to rest largely on the *uses* of the sacrament." The apostle, I observe, "does not say with the papists, that the nature of the bread is changed; or with those of Bremen, that the bread is the substantial body of Christ; or with others, that it is the real body of Christ; but that it is *the communion*, by which we become united with the body of Christ." *fit consociatio cum corpore Christi.*" *Ib.* 379. And in another paper of the same year he recites passages in which the fathers, both Greek and Latin, had called the elements *symbols, types, signs, figures*: and he adds, that he had availed himself of a favourable opportunity of bringing these passages under the notice of Luther, and was surprised to find him lend a more willing ear to them than he expected. *Ib.* 384.

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righteousness ; a course of life pleasing to God, and animated by holy affections—fear, faith, prayer, and love, excited by his Spirit, and leading to a life passed as in his presence, and employed in his praises : in one word, as S. Peter expresses it, it is a *participation of the divine nature*. So S. Paul says, *We all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord*. That is, when alarmed by the wrath of God we fear, and cheered by his mercy in Christ we rejoice, and by faith repose in him, then we live to God, and walk in the light of his Spirit.—The hypocrite Saul and the regenerate David may both perform the same external works, civil or religious, ceremonial or moral : but in the one all mere shadow and dead letter ; his mind is without the fear of God, without reliance upon him or joy in him : while in the latter, whether he makes war or offers sacrifices, the fear of God, and faith in God supporting and comforting his mind, are ever present : they proceed from the Spirit of God, and are not mere fleeting shadows, but the commencement of eternal life. And these principles, derived from above, he says to have increased in him, when he says, *create in me a clean heart, O God—a heart thinking rightly of God, and rightly affected towards him ; and renew a right spirit—a firm and upright spirit—within me*, such as no artifices of the devil, nor any Epicurean or sceptical imaginations may shake. He adds : *Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy holy Spirit from me : govern all my thoughts and purposes : excite in me disposition and harmony with thy law. Restore to me, O Lord, thy salvation : support me under all tribulations*.

thy consolations, that I may never perish, overcome by either fears or sorrows. *Uphold me by thy free Spirit*: strengthen me to bear whatever thou mayest be pleased to lay upon me, that I may never repine at thy dispensations, or, like my predecessor Saul, despair of thy mercy.—Thus he seeks, in order, illumination and the assurance of understanding, in the knowledge of God; renovation, and direction in his conduct; support and consolation under all troubles.

“Now all the acts of such a man are performed under the influence of the Spirit: they are not mere *shadow* and dead *letter*, as those of such a character as Saul are, whose religion is wholly external and insincere.

“S. Paul calls the law *the letter*, and *the ministration of death*. He means, that the law, apart from the gospel, can produce nothing beyond either the mere external morality of the philosophers, or such alarm of conscience as drives a man from God into desperation and eternal ruin. Such was the case of Saul. But the gospel is *the ministration of the Spirit*. A delightful appellation! which affirms, that by the preaching of the gospel the Holy Spirit is given. *We receive the promise of the Spirit by faith*. When alarmed consciences hear the voice of the gospel, and believe that through the Mediator they have forgiveness of sins, the Holy Spirit is received into the heart; new light and life are kindled there; God gives them the spirit of grace and of supplications; makes them to know that they are received into his favour, and, being so received, to call upon him, *not in oldness of the letter, but in newness of the spirit*.

“Let the doting fancies of Origen, therefore,

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be exploded, who pretends that *the letter* is the grammatical sense of the ceremonies and histories of scripture, and *the spirit* its allegorical interpretation ! Encouraged by this fancy of his, a licentious spirit of interpretation was introduced into the church, by which commentators acted the part of painters, drawing chimeras, and scyllas, and centaurs, according to the figments of their own brain.—But there is one natural and genuine meaning in every sentence of the prophetic and apostolic writings. This being traced out according to the ordinary rules of language, we shall find it sometimes prefiguring or exemplifying other things. Thus, in the paschal lamb we have a type of the sacrifice of Christ ; and, in the history of Daniel among the lions, an exemplification of God's protection of his servants and of his whole church on many other occasions. To make these applications of what we read requires great learning, prudence, and consideration : and, after all, these interpretations and applications of scripture, if unaccompanied by the light and power of the Holy Spirit influencing the mind, will be as much dead *letter* and *shadow* as the passages themselves without explication can be.

“ When S. Paul says, Romans vii, that *the law is spiritual*, he manifestly speaks of the moral law : and he does not mean that it is to be converted into allegories ; but he calls it spiritual, because it treats not, like the laws of Lycurgus or Solon, of mere external conduct, but requires devout affections of heart, and, in short, perfect obedience. As towards all who fail of rendering this, it is a fearful ministration of wrath, not for external faults alone, but for the blindness and unbelief

ness of their hearts.—Of this dreadful judgment of God S. Paul speaks, and not of the allegories and fables of which Origen understands him. And greatly is it to be lamented, that the weighty doctrine committed exclusively to God's church, concerning the use of the law, the ministry of the gospel, faith, the gift of the Spirit, the exercises of faith in prayer and calling upon God, and the affections kindled in the heart by the Holy Spirit, should have been lost, and buried beneath these idle dreams of Origen, who misapprehended the whole subject of the spirit and the letter.

“ In all ages, the whole doctrine, whether of the law or the gospel, has been to those who were not born again mere letter and fleeting shadow : it has brought with it to them no new and eternal light and life. But in all ages also the promise of the gospel has been the ministration of the Spirit to them that believe, and by faith are born again :¹

¹ It may be worth while to notice Melancthon's use of the terms, “ regenerate,” and “ born again ;” especially as he was peculiarly studious in his use of theological language, exhorted others to be the same, and, to facilitate that object, annexed to the editions of his *Common Places* subsequent to the year 1552, “ *Definitions of Theological Terms.*” In his *Consilia*, speaking expressly of terms, he says, “ The usage of the church induces me to apply the word *repentance* to the whole of *conversion.*” “ The terms *REGENERATION*, *mortification*, and *quickenings*, I have transferred,” therefore, “ to the head of *repentance.*” “ If any one chooses to speak thus, ‘ Let there be made three parts of *REGENERATION* OR *CONVERSION*, namely, repentance, or remorse and sorrow for sin, faith, and renewed obedience,’ he in effect says the same that I do.” i. 658. Again : “ *REGENERATION* OR *CONVERSION* must be followed by corresponding effects.” ii. 367. Compare ii. 141, 304-5, &c. In his *Common Places*, edit. 1546, p. 235, he says, “ When the Holy Spirit, by means of the gospel, produces new affections, and a new life, *THIS CONVERSION IS CALLED REGENERATION*, John

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use, when reconciliation with God, freely
 ted through the Mediator, is received, and
 kindled in the mind, the Holy Spirit
 comes in us the author of a new and eternal
 and life. *To be spiritually minded is life
 peace....* Let us not then look for new
 lations and enthusiastic phantasies, apart
 the gospel; but let us rest in the promises
 that divine system: and, when we do this,
 may be assured that the Holy Spirit works
 actually in us.”¹

ach are the writings of this admirable man,
 the bigoted doctors of his own age, and
 the age immediately following, succeeded in
 ging into discredit.² Chiefly because he
 d not go their lengths, in maintaining that
 of doctrine of predestination which denies
 agency to the creature, and makes the
 ator the author of moral evil as well as
 d; in upholding the corporal presence of

Study of
 Melancthon's
 writings re-
 commended.

ad new obedience must needs follow.” Again: “In the
 church God works by the gospel, and *regenerates* many
 eternal life: but in that assembly (the visible church)
 are many who are *not born again*.” In the Apology
 the Confession of Augsburg, he says, “What can be
 of the *conversion* of a wicked man, or the manner
regeneration, more simply and clearly?” Edit. 1537,
 . Again: “Faith *regenerates* us: for by faith alone
 spirit is received.” Ib. 61, 69, &c.—P. 116. “*Regene-*
 is effected by the *perpetual* mortification of the old
 ” Here it is made synonymous with sanctification.—
 ven opens his latest work, on the Bavarian Articles
 g, that “the Son of God *regenerates* many by
 hing (voce) of the gospel and by the Holy S
 a i. 362. In short, he never scruples to use the
 quivalent to conversion: nor have I ever fou
 ct it to baptism or what accompanies baptism.
 Edit. 1546. p. 490—496. Op. i. 262—264. . . .
 Augusti, p. iv.

Christ in the sacrament; in rejecting the necessity of good works, and the obligation of obedience to the moral law; and in refusing all compliance with the will of an earthly superior in the most strictly indifferent matters connected with religion; they branded him as a deserter and betrayer of the evangelical doctrine, whose efforts tended to bring back popish errors, and to undermine the church:¹ and, from the effects of their various charges against him, his character, and still more the influence of his writings, has never yet fully recovered.—Certainly it is much to be regretted that a work, so celebrated as his Common

¹ So early as the year 1538, Armsdorf wrote to Luther, that he “cherished a viper in his bosom—meaning me,” says Melancthon. During the lifetime of Luther, he also elsewhere says: “One Cordatus lately threw my book of Common Places on the ground, and stamped upon it. What would he have done with the author had he been in his power?” Another, who had asked his opinion concerning the Lord’s supper, heavily accused him to the elector, because his answer was more moderate than was agreeable to his correspondent. A third, he says, “maintains that the decalogue is not to be taught in the churches.” In 1555, some, by a deputation, prescribed as the preliminaries of agreement with him, that he should “acknowledge the decalogue to be abolished, should promise never to listen to any offers of reconciliation with the bishops, and never to allow that princes might order any thing in the church.” He says, “I simply answered, No:” and he adds, “As the church has heretofore groaned under tyranny of another kind, so it is now oppressed by ignorant demagogues, who neither have recourse to the true sources of knowledge, nor respect discipline, nor value the exercises of piety. I cannot prevent their domination, but I will keep aloof from their society.”—Some told him he aspired at a Cardinal’s hat.—For these and other passages, recording the charges brought against Melancthon and his friends, see his *Epistles*, ii. 207. iv. 836. vi. p. 22, 403, 450. *Consilia*, i. 653. *Camerar. Vit. Mel.* § 104.

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Places were at the period of the reformation, should have since fallen so much into neglect. It may be read with much advantage in any of its varied editions. That of the earliest date may now be considered as rendered, by the republication of Professor Augusti, the most accessible of the three series, and it exhibits the best corrective of the only part of its contents that was seriously objectionable, in the alteration, and virtual retractation of its obnoxious positions concerning liberty and necessity, which was made by the author himself, when more advanced in years and matured in judgment. The later editions no doubt introduce many important topics, not found in the first: but in those of the third period the work is drawn out into too great length, by which the impression is frequently weakened; while in some instances extraordinary repetitions occur. To those who have not the opportunity or the inclination to compare different copies, one of the second period, extending from the year 1535 to 1542 inclusive, would probably be found the most eligible.

One of the latest of Melancthon's compositions has been repeatedly mentioned, of which, as he styled it "his last will," and desired to have it considered as his closing "confession of faith,"¹ the reader may wish to

Melancthon
on the
Bavarian
Articles

¹ Above, pp. 145, 214.

have some account. I refer to his “Answers to the impious Articles of the Bavarian Inquisition,” or Inquest, written in August, 1559: but, as it appears perfectly to harmonize in sentiment with what has been here adduced from the last edition of his Common Places, a very brief notice of it may suffice. The articles referred to were thirty-one in number, all drawn up in the form of questions; which, from their nature, would appear to have been designed to detect, by tests both affirmative and negative, the most latent infection of Lutheran principles: and they are signed by five “Examiners.” On Melancthon’s replies to them we may remark, 1. That he no where shews a more determined hostility to popish errors, or a deeper sense of their enormity, than in this his last publication: 2. That he teaches precisely the same doctrine concerning the will, which we have been reviewing: and 3. That he is as clear and determinate as ever on the great subject of justification, and on its being by faith alone, “that is, by reliance on the Mediator.” —“They,” he says, “who reject the exclusive word, *only*, slide into the synecdoche of Origen or the papists.” —He earnestly recommends “that modesty of mind which would humbly adhere to revealed truths, though it could not answer all the cavils raised against them:” and quotes with approbation the sentiment of an excellent man, who said, “I believe both propositions, that there is a divine predestination, and that there is contingency, though I cannot solve what may be urged against either one or the other.” He thanks God for his acquaintance with antiquity; and affirms that his sentiments upon this subject “agree with those of the sounder

BAVARIAN ARTICLES.

writers among the ancients ;” and that, even with respect to S. Augustine, “ if any interpret him more harshly, they do him injustice.” “ Yet,” he says, “ at the same time I confess, that God performs many things in all his saints in such a manner that their wills are passive. But still the rule must be retained, that *faith cometh by hearing.*”¹

¹ Opera, i. fo. 360—387.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

To enter minutely into the history of this famous council would be foreign to our design: but some notice of it is necessary, and to relate certain parts of its proceedings, and to present a general view of its character and its final result, may prove both interesting and instructive.

Duration
of the
Council.

The whole term of the council's duration, from its commencement to its dissolution, amounted to eighteen years, extending from December 1545, to December 1563: but the time of its actual session was somewhat less than four years—more than fourteen being passed in a state of actual or virtual suspension.¹

¹ The council was opened December 13, 1545, under the pontificate of Paul III; was translated to Bologna, March 11, 1547, where no business was transacted; and the members were dismissed, September 17, 1549. It was resumed at Trent, May 1, 1551, under Julius III: suspended on account of Maurice's expedition, April 28, 1552: restored under Pius IV, January 18, 1562: and dissolved December 4, 1563. The presidents of the first period were the cardinal-legates, di Monte, (afterwards pope Julius III,) Santa Croce, (afterwards Marcellus II,) and our countryman, Pole. Those of the second period, cardinal Crescentio, legate, and cardinal Pighino, archbishop of Siponto, and Lipoman, bishop of Verona, nuncios. Those of the third, Hercules Gonzaga, cardinal of Mantua, and cardinal Seripando; to whom were afterwards joined, Hosius, cardinal of Warmia, and cardinals Simoneta and Altemps; and, on the

—My examination of its history, as far as it has gone, leads me fully to concur in the sentence which Dr. Robertson has pronounced concerning it. Having described the three authors, to whom we are chiefly indebted for the accounts we have of it, Father Paul, Cardinal Pallavicini, and Vargas, a Spanish doctor of laws, who attended the imperial ambassadors at Trent, and regularly reported the transactions there to Granvelle, bishop of Arras, the emperor's chief minister, he says: 'But whichever of these authors an intelligent person takes for his guide in forming a judgment concerning the spirit of the council, he must discover so much ambition as well as artifice among some of the members, so much ignorance and corruption among others; he must observe such a strange infusion of human policy and passions, mingled with such a scanty portion of simplicity, sanctity of manners, and love of truth; . . . that he will find it no easy matter to believe, that any extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghost hovered over this assembly, and dictated its decrees.'¹ Indeed, not only more secularity, but more chicanery and intrigue, more fierce contention, more that is opposite to all which ought to characterize a sacred assembly, whose professed objects were to investigate divine truth, and to purge the church from error in doctrine and corruption in manners, was found here, than in the ordinary diets and parliaments of mere worldly politicians: and it became so notorious, that the legates, who presided in it, contrived

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1546.

Its historians.

Its character.

deaths of Mantua and Seripando in March 1563, the cardinals Moronè and Navaggiaro—all holding a legatine commission.

¹ Robertson's Charles V, iv. 77.

CHAP.
XIII.

to manage every thing in subservience to the court of Rome, and to receive from thence the decisions which the council was to sanction, as to give currency to a somewhat profane sarcasm, importing that the spirit which guided the council descended not from heaven, but was periodically transmitted from Rome by the most ordinary modes of conveyance.

Its general
result.

On the general result and effect of the council, Father Paul has the following striking sentence in the very opening of his history. "I will relate the causes and management of an ecclesiastical convocation, by some, for divers ends and by divers means, sought after and solicited, by others hindered and deferred, for twenty-two years; and for eighteen more sometimes assembled, sometimes suspended, and always celebrated with divers intentions; and which acquired a form, and attained a conclusion, altogether contrary to the design of those who procured it, and the fear of those who, with all diligence, obstructed it:—a clear instruction to us to refer ourselves to God, and not to trust in the wisdom of man. For this council, desired and procured by godly men to reunite the church, which had begun to be divided, hath so established the schism, and made the parties so obstinate, that the discords are become irreconcilable:—demanded by princes for the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline, it hath caused the greatest derangement in the church that ever was since Christianity began: hoped for by bishops as the means of regaining the episcopal authority, which had been mainly usurped by the pope, it hath made them lose it altogether, and brought them into greater servitude. On the contrary, feared and avoided by the see of Rome, as a potent means

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moderate the exorbitant power which that had acquired from small beginnings, but degrees had advanced to an unlimitedness, it hath so established and confirmed the same, over that part which remains subject to it, that it was never so great, or so soundly settled." ¹

What particularly distinguished this council was, its undertaking to fix the doctrines and observances of the Romish church, in a more accurate manner than had ever before been attempted. Doctrines, which had hitherto been considered as mere private opinions, open to discussion, were now absurdly made articles of faith, and required to be received on pain of excommunication. Rites, which had formerly been observed only in deference to custom, were posed to be ancient, were established by decrees of the church, and declared to be essential parts of its worship. Thus the breach, instead of being closed, was widened and made irreparable. Yet still, says Mosheim, "those who expect to derive from the decrees of the council of Trent, and the compendious confession of faith, which was drawn up by order of Julius IV, a clear, complete, and perfect knowledge of the Romish faith, will be greatly disappointed...Many things are expressed in a vague and ambiguous manner, and that designedly, to account of the intestine divisions and warm contests that reigned in the church....Several points are omitted which no Roman catholic is allowed to call in question;....and several doctrines and rules of worship are inculcated in a much more rational and decent manner, than in which they appear in the daily service

Its attempt
to fix the
doctrines
and rites of
the church.

¹ F. Paul, 1, 2. Courayer, i. 4.

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Gives the
most
favourable
view of
them.

Its decrees
partially
received.

Order of
proceed-
ings.

of the church, and in the public practice of its members."¹

From these statements it may be concluded, that the view presented of the Roman catholic religion by these documents—the most authentic, notwithstanding their deficiencies and imperfections, to which we can appeal—is the *least unfavourable* of which it is capable, and that the attempts frequently made² to soften down the Romish doctrines and practices, even much below this standard, are fallacious, and do really pervert the truth of the case.

The decrees of the council, it is further to be observed, were never fully received by many of the communities in union with the Roman catholic church. Germany, Poland, and Italy adopted them implicitly. In France and Hungary their authority was never publicly acknowledged. Even in the Spanish dominions it was long resisted; and it was finally admitted only so far as it might not be “prejudicial to the rights and prerogatives of the kings of Spain.”³

Respecting the order of proceeding in the council, it may be proper to state, that all matters to be brought before the assembly, and the decisions to be made upon them, were first prepared in ‘congregations,’ or committees, appointed for the purpose; where the bishops, who, as Father Paul says, were “mostly lawyers (canonists) or learned men of the court,” who knew little of the “crabbed school points,”⁴ were assisted, and to a great degree guided, by divines who had no vote in the council. After the decisions, which it might be expedient to adopt, had thus been considered in the com-

¹ Mosheim, iii. 451—454. Robertson, iv. 75.

² Bossuet, C. Butler, &c.

³ Mosh. iii. 452-3.

⁴ F. Paul, 168-9.

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3, they were next discussed in a general session : and, not till the decrees to be had been there agreed upon, were they successively brought before the council in open session. By this arrangement the indecorum, and of discordancy of opinion in an assembly, was avoided, or at least was hid from the public eye.¹

decisions of the council on several important subjects—traditions, the apocrypha, the Vulgate version of the scriptures, and in degree that on original sin—have been noticed in this work :² but some things passed in the discussion of those articles, recorded by Father Paul, and confirmed by him, who had had the opportunity of comparing the corrections of that great author's annotations, which had been offered by subsequent writers, may well deserve the reader's attention.

the first of the subjects just recited, Traditions

Paul informs us, " All agreed that the christian faith is contained partly in the scriptures and partly in traditions ;....and some said that tradition was the *only* foundation of catholic doctrine,....for the scripture hath authority from it, according to the saying of S. Augustine, ' I would not have believed the gospel, if the authority of the church had not compelled me.' "³ Marinarius, a Melite, even asserted, " that the church

an, F. Paul, &c. ² Vol. i. 422-3, 442-3.
 ingworth. Rel. of Prot. c. ii. § 97, &c. and Sullington's Grounds, c. viii. § 4. have fully considered this of Augustine.—Does he mean any thing more, from the church he had learned what books were of the apostles and approved men, and what not ; he felt he was compelled to receive whatever he found there.

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was more perfect before any of the apostles wrote ; and that, if they had not written at all, the church would have wanted nothing of its perfection." This person, however, wished to have no determination made on the subject, as the Lutherans had raised no controversies about it. But cardinal Pole held, that, " if they had yet raised no controversy upon it, it was time to raise it now ; for that it was necessary that the protestants should receive *all* the Roman catholic doctrine, or that as many of their errors as possible should be detected, the more to make it manifest to the world that no agreement could be made with them."—In the end, " it was approved by all, *that the traditions should be received as of equal authority with the scriptures.*"¹

and the
Apocrypha
made equal
with Scrip-
ture.

On the canon of scripture, considerable difficulty was felt about making a catalogue of the authoritative books. Some would have made a threefold distinction, between the books which had been always acknowledged as inspired—those which had been for some time doubted, but subsequently admitted—and those of which there never had been any certainty, meaning the apocrypha. It was finally agreed to make all the books, apocryphal as well as others, "*of equal authority.*"²

Cajetan and
others on
the original
and trans-
lated
Scriptures.

In discussing the subject of the translation, the authority of cardinal Cajetan was appealed to, " to whom there was no prelate or person in the council who would not yield in learning." When going legate into Germany in the year 1523, the cardinal, " studying how those that erred might best be reduced to the church, and

¹ F. Paul, 141—143, 145. Courayer, i. 236—239, 242. Du Pin, vii. 12, 13.

² F. P. 145. C. i. 243. D. P. vii. 13.

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the arch-heretics convinced, found the true remedy to be, the literal meaning of the text of scripture in the original tongues: and all the residue of his life, which was eleven years, he gave himself only to the study of the scripture, expounding not the Latin translation, but the Hebrew roots of the Old, and the Greek of the New Testament:¹ in which tongues having no knowledge himself, he employed men of understanding, who construed to him the text word by word. He was wont also to say, that 'to understand the Latin text was not to understand the infallible word of God, but the word of the translator, subject and liable to error.' And he added, that Jerome spake well, that 'to prophesy and to write holy books proceeded from the Holy Ghost; but to translate them into another tongue was a work of human skill.'" A canon was also quoted, which commands to examine the books of the Old Testament by the Hebrew, and those of the New Testament by the Greek.—"On the contrary, the major part of the divines said, that it was necessary to account that translation, which formerly hath been read in the churches and used in the schools, to be divine and authentic; otherwise they would yield the cause to the Lutherans, and open the gate to innumerable heresies:....that, if every one had liberty to examine whether passages, on which the doctrine of the church is founded, were well translated, running to other translations, and seeking how it was in the original, these new grammarians would confound all, and would

¹ "The scriptural simplicity which characterizes commentaries of cardinal Cajetan, and a few others, striking contrast to the writings of the scholastic who preceded them." M'Crie's Italy, 48.

be made judges and arbiters of faith ; and, instead of divines and canonists, pedants would be preferred to be bishops and cardinals. The inquisitors also would not be able to proceed against the Lutherans, in case they knew not Hebrew and Greek, because the latter would suddenly answer, The text is not so : the translation is false." " Others added, that, if the providence of God gave the authentic scriptures to the synagogue, and an authentic New Testament to the Greeks, it cannot be said, without derogation to the church of Rome—more beloved than the rest—that it wanted this great benefit : and therefore we ought to believe, that the same Holy Ghost, who did dictate the sacred books, had dictated also that translation which was to serve the church of Rome."

Vulgate
version
declared
authentic
and
canonical.

In the end, the Vulgate version was declared authentic and canonical by almost general consent ; " the discourse," says Father Paul, " having made deep impression on their minds, that grammarians would take upon them to teach bishops and divines." A correct edition, however, was ordered to be prepared ; and the decision of the council was explained to mean, " not that men were forbidden to have recourse to the original, but only to say that there were errors of faith in the translation for which it ought to be rejected."¹

¹ F. Paul, 145—148, 150, 152. Cour. i. 243, &c. De Pin, vii. 13—15. Notwithstanding this decree, the fathers, on a subsequent question, finding a passage in the vulgate stand in the way of the conclusion to which they wished to come, argued, " that the translation did deceive," and " that it was not fit to ground an article of faith on an error of an interpreter." " Thus," observes F. Paul, " did the same men who had made the Vulgate version authentic speak of it ; which every one may observe out of the books printed by them." p. 194.

On the subject of the exposition of scripture very curious sentiments were delivered: that anciently it was allowed to write upon holy books, because but few expositions were made: but that in later times the schoolmen, seeing the scripture was abundantly explained, thought that men were inclined to disputation, thought good to employ them in examining the title, to keep the holy scriptures in reverence. And this was carried so far, that Richardus, a Franciscan, said, that "the doctrines which were so cleared, that we ought no more to learn them out of scripture, . . . which was to be read in the church only for devotion,¹ and not to serve men for this end only, and not to study: and that this should be the reverence and worship due from every one to the word of God. At least, the studying of it should be prohibited to all that were not first confirmed in school divinity: and that the Lutherans were condemned not but upon those that studied the scriptures."—On this subject the council concurred in the sentiments of cardinal Pacheco, there was no need to add any thing to what had been already published by pious and learned men; "that all the new heresies sprang from new expositions of scripture; and that it was necessary to bridle the petulance of moderns, to make men content to be governed by the ancients and the church."²

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Exposition
of scripture.

In the fourth session of the council, therefore, on April 8, 1546, two decrees were passed, pronouncing anathemas on those who "despised traditions," or "received not for sacred and canonical all the books of scripture, and all

Decrees of
Session IV,
on Tradi-
tions, the
Canon, and
the Vulgate,
April 8.

¹ As a form of prayer." Cour. i. 243.

² Paul, 148—150. Cour. i. 247—251. Du Pin, vi. 6.

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things contained therein, according to the Vulgate version ;” and forbidding any “ to explain the scriptures, in things relating to faith and manners, contrary to the sense which our holy mother the church has held, and does hold—to whom only it appertaineth to judge of the sense and interpretation of scripture ; or contrary to the unanimous doctrine of the fathers ; though it should be without any design to make such explanation public.”¹

Right of
preaching.

It had been settled, that reformation in matters of discipline and practice should go hand in hand with the determination of questions of doctrine. Under this head “ terrible controversies” arose in the council, between the bishops and the regulars, on the subject of preaching and reading lectures—a question, says Father Paul, “ not of opinions but of profit.” The performance of these services had been almost engrossed by the monks and friars, by privilege granted them from the pope, and held independently of the bishops. The latter reclaimed the right of licensing those who should preach: but the pope saw that by granting this he should lose his power, and that the bishops would become “ popes in their respective dioceses.”² The result was, as usual in such cases, an unmeaning compromise, which would leave things in very nearly their former state. The preachers were to a certain extent to acknowledge the authority of the bishops, and the bishops to take care so to exercise that authority as not to give cause of complaint to the regular orders.

Discussions
on original
sin.

The discussions on the next point of doctrine, original sin, were extremely curious, and the

¹ Du Pin, vii. 16, 17. F. Paul, 151. Cour. i. 255.

² F. P. 151, 157—161, 173. C. i. 255. 264, &c. D. P. vii. 18—21, 26—28.

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whole subject proved highly perplexing to the fathers. Its nature, the mode of its transmission, the means of its remission, and how far the blessed Virgin was involved in it, were all found to be very unmanageable questions.—Augustine had made it to consist in “concupiscence,” or corrupt affection; Anselm in “the privation of original righteousness, which in baptism is renewed by grace as an equivalent.” Aquinas, Bonaventure, Peter Lombard, and John Scotus had each his peculiar account to give of it; the intelligibility of which may be judged of by the following statement, in which some of the contending theories endeavoured to unite, namely, “that in a corrupted nature there are two rebellions, one of the soul against God, the other, that the senses against the soul; that the latter is concupiscence, the former unrighteousness; and that both together are sin.”—It was however generally agreed that concupiscence is not a sin, but the punishment of sin—sin being an act, at least of the will, contrary to the divine law: and the fathers, to avoid the perplexity which arose, were most inclined to the opinion of Ambrose Catharinus, who contended, “that Adam’s sin was in us only by imputation, on account of the covenant which God made with him.”¹ Many however being opposed to it, they dared not adopt it; and, in spite of the monstrosities of some on the ridicule which such a step would entail on them, the council terminated to condemn those who denied original sin, without saying in what it con-

Its nature.

Concupis-
cence.

¹ Du Pin, vii. 24. F. Paul’s words are, “that the very transgression of Adam belonged to every one—to him as a cause, to others by virtue of the covenant.” 165. ut. i. 276.

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XIII.Its trans-
mission.

sisted, or what was to be held affirmatively concerning it.¹

On the transmission of original sin, S. Augustine was quoted, who had doubted whether the soul, as well as the body, was not derived from the parents, and thus partook of their corruption: but the schoolmen, rejecting this opinion had held, that corruption is chiefly in the flesh or body, and that by the body the soul is infected, “as liquor by the vessel into which it is put.”—How strong a warning does all this afford against attempting to be “wise above what is written.”

Its remis-
sion.

On the remission of original sin, “all agreed that it is cancelled by baptism, and the soul restored pure into the state of innocence, though the punishments that follow sin,” including concupiscence, “are not removed, that they may be an exercise for the righteous.” “Many passages of S. Paul and the other apostles were alleged, which,” it was asserted in the council of Trent, as it is by many protestants now, “affirm that baptism washeth, cleanseth, illuminateth, and purifieth the soul, so that no condemnation, spot, or wrinkle remaineth.”²—To say, “that there remained something worthy of death in the baptized,” and “to make con-

¹ F. Paul, 168. Cour. i. 281-2.

² One archbishop, whose opinion considerably influenced the council, asserted, that “by the regenerate, not only the baptized are meant, but those whose lives answer to the profession they make in baptism.” Du Pin, vii. 24. (On n’entend pas seulement ceux, &c. mais ceux dont la vie, &c.)—Those protestants must certainly have much less insight into the scriptures than this Romish archbishop possessed, who perceive not that the apostles, in the passages referred to in the text, *supposed* the baptized persons to be in reality what they were in profession—sincere Christians: nay, that some of the passages rather look forward to the glorified state of the church, than to any thing yet attained.

gence sin in them," was held to be clearly etical."¹

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the state of children dying without sin, "so many vanities," says F. Paul, be delivered, that they might give great of entertainment."²

Infants.

concerning the conception of the virgin without the taint of original sin, a fancy was the subject of fierce dispute between Franciscans, who affirmed, and the Dominicans, who denied it, enough has been said of the decision of the council, on a later occasion.³ I will only here add, that, reporting it, F. Paul introduces a discourse how "how the blessed virgin came, about the year 1050, to be worshipped—in a form which anciently was ever used to the honour of divine Majesty; and the worship so to increase in the next hundred years, that it rose to the height of attributing unto her in the scriptures speak of the Divine Dominion."⁴

The Virgin Mary.

Worship of her.

At the end, a decree was passed in the fifth session, consisting of five articles; the last of which anathematized all who should deny that the guilt of sin is removed by the

Decree of Session V, on original sin.
June 17.

Even the council itself could hardly be kept clear of *razism*. Soto the Dominican, a prominent character in sermons on the advent, and in lent, "exhorted to full confidence in God, condemned all trust in works, affirmed that the heroical acts of the ancients, so read by men, were truly sin; spake of the difference of the law and the gospel, not as of two times, but as if the gospel were ever, and that the law ought to be ever; and also a certainty of grace," (or assurance,) "though with pious and doubtful clauses, for fear they might so offend him that he could not be defended." F. Paul, 167. i. 280.

¹ P. 168. C. i. 281.

² Vol. i. 443.

³ P. 169—171. C. i. 284, &c.

grace which Jesus Christ confers in baptism, and all which is sinful entirely taken away ;” and affirms, that “ there is nothing which God hates in the regenerate ;” that concupiscence, though remaining in the baptized, is only “ to exercise them, but without hurting those that resist it ;” and that, though S. Paul sometimes calls this concupiscence sin, yet the catholic church never taught that he gave it that name as if it were truly and properly sin in the baptized, but because it comes from sin, and leads to sin.” ¹

Discussions
on Justifi-
cation.

The next article considered was the capital one of JUSTIFICATION. On this the discussions were rendered very complicated, by being made to involve, not only the nature and means of justification, the nature of faith, and the quality of works, antecedent, concomitant, and subsequent, but also the questions of assurance, free will, and predestination. The subject was felt, both by the divines and the fathers, to be singularly important, as “ all the errors of Luther resolved themselves into it ;” and withal singularly difficult, since (unlike the question of original sin,) “ justification by faith only was a thing never heard of before ;”² and Luther’s doctrine, relative to every part of it, such as had “ never been thought of by any school writer, and therefore never confuted or discussed ! ” ³

Articles
selected
from the
Lutherans.

As the groundwork of their proceeding, the council collected, or pretended to collect, from the writings of Luther, twenty-five articles to be examined and condemned.

¹ F. Paul, 162—173. Cour. i. 272—289. Du Pin, vii. 21—26.

² Simply *inouié*, in Courayer, i. 298.

³ F. P. 178, 181. C. i. 298, 303.

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ere every rash expression, every over-
d position, into which he had been
ed, was taken advantage of: and it

be denied, that his zeal against the
e of justification by works had led him
s to use language, concerning both the

God and human works, which is open
t objection. In particular, though he
aintained that the justified man would
ust walk religiously in good works,
iding that if any thing were introduced
ning justifying faith being an active,
ive principle, its power of justifying us
mediately attributed to the works which
duced, he was led at times to reject
osition, which may safely, and assur-
ught constantly to be maintained, that
ith which justifies is a lively and

as opposed to a dead and inoperate,
The "lively" or living faith of the
t of England,¹ which alone interests
rist for justification, is not to be
unded with the "formed" faith of the
t of Rome—that is, a faith clothed in
e fruits which it is to produce, and
ing us by means of its fruits;² though

. xii.

hey say, that the scriptures which speak of justifi-
y faith ought to be understood of a *formed faith*:
that our justification is to be ascribed to our faith,
account of our love" and other fruits of it: "may
ke love to justify, and not faith. But what else is this.
abolish the promise again, and to return to the law."

Apol. Confess. p. 52. ed. 1537. "The papist
n is justified by a *formed* faith. They mean, . . .
it by other virtues." Id. Op. i. 373.—In the . . .
Marinarius "liked not that it should be . . .
formed with charity, because that kind of
l by S. Paul, but only that faith *worketh* . . .

F. Paul, 183. Cour. i. 306.

many at that time, and many since have been willing to confound them.¹—By the one broad but simple distinction, between a living and a dead faith, every legitimate end, sought by confounding faith and works, in the matter of justification, is best secured, while the fatal errors which arise from such a mingling of things essentially incompatible are avoided.

Nature of
Justifica-
tion.

On the nature of justification, knowing how much the church of Rome confounds it with sanctification—making it to include ‘an infused habit of grace,’ and not simply to be acceptance to the favour of God—we are surprised and gratified to find some leading character openly asserting the forensic sense of the term or that justification consists in being pronounced not liable to condemnation, but intitled (on whatever grounds,) to the rewards of righteousness. To deny this concerning the language of S. Paul, said Marinarus, “is manifestly against the text, which maketh a judicial process, and saith that none can *accuse* or *condemn* God’s elect, because God doth *justify* them where the judicial words, to *accuse* and *condemn*, do shew that the word *justify* is judicial also.”¹

Imputation
of Christ’s
righteous-
ness.

Even the *imputation* of Christ’s righteousness to us, wanted not its advocates, “in regard of the opinion of Albertus Pighius, who confessing the inherent” righteousness and sanctification, “added, that we must not trust in that, but in the imputed righteousness of Christ, as if it were our own.—None doubt that Christ had merited for us, but some blamed the word *impute* . . . because it was no

¹ This is done where faith *comprehending* good works and faith *producing* them, are not distinguished.

² F. P. 187. C. i. 313. Above, vol. i. 159, 160.

ie found in the fathers." Vera, the Fran-
 an, another leading character, defended the
 d; "but would not have it said that
 ist's righteousness was imputed as if it were
 s."¹

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he different senses of the word *faith*, and
 nature of that faith, "which, it must be
 supposed as undoubted. justifieth—that
 g repeatedly affirmed by S. Paul"—was
 h discussed. Some were of opinion that a
 y and a dead, a *formed* and an *unformed*
 i, "do both justify, after divers manners"
 ie former "completely," the latter in an
 pient manner, "as a beginning and foun-
 on"—leading the way, by a historic assent
 ie truths of scripture, to a more full and
 er influence of them.

F. 12.

uch was said also on *works*, preceding,
 mpanying, and following justification, and
 he influence of each.²—In short, they could

W. 12.

F. P. 187. C. i. 314.

The reader may take a specimen of the absurdities, as
 as errors, into which these refining doctors ran. Soto,
 taining against Catharinus, that man has some power, of
 an unassisted free will, to do well, argued. "That it
 one thing to avoid any particular sin, and another to
 all sins: as, in a vessel having three holes in it, a man
 t stop which two of them he would, but could not,
 two hands, stop them all!"—F. P. 185. C. i. 309.—
 he works, and emotions of mind, *preparing*, as it was
 for justification, Marinarius argued, "That, as in passing
 great cold to heat one must pass by a less degree of
 which is neither heat nor a new cold, but the same cold
 ished, so one goeth from sin to righteousness by terrors
 stritions, which are neither good works nor new sins,
 ld sins attenuated."—"Concerning the works done in
 : there was no difficulty, for they all said that they were
 et, and merited salvation." F. P. 186. C. i. 311, 312.
 ? vii. 35.—Soto, being pressed with the question,
 her works in which the act required by the law was
 rmed, but not from the right motive, or under the

see that both faith and works are required of the Christian, but respecting the distinct virtues of each they appear to have been uttered in the dark. As F. Paul with sententious admirable sagacity remarks, "But the principal point of the difficulty they touched namely, WHETHER A MAN IS RIGHTEOUS, (JUSTIFIED,) AND THEN DOETH RIGHTEOUSLY, OR DOING RIGHTEOUSLY BECOMETH RIGHTEOUS IS JUSTIFIED.¹ This profound author here puts his finger on the precise point at issue—very core of the question. No one means to exclude either hope or charity from that which is always joined as inseparable mates with faith in the man that is justified, or works from that which is added as necessary duties, required at the hand of every justified man :"² but the question is, Do they *go before*, and *procure* his justification, or do they "follow after,"³ and *prove* him justified? And on this question our church bears her xith and xiith Articles, pronounced a decided and unequivocal judgment.

Precisely to this effect also the bishop of Lorraine delivered his opinion in the council. "He attributed justification and salvation," says Pin, "to faith alone, and said that hope and charity were inseparable companions" of it, "but not the cause" of the blessings which

influence of grace, prepared a man for justification, that is, "in regard to the goodness of them, that they did; yet, "considering the doctrine of S. Augustine, approved by Aquinas and other good divines, that the first beginning of salvation proceeds from the vocation of God," it is clear that they did not. He therefore "avoided these strains, and maintained the distinction, that they were preparatory only *afar* and *remotely*, not *nearly*!" F. P. 185. C. i. 310. D. P. vii. 35.

¹ F. P. 182—186. C. i. 303—312. D. P. vii. 34.

² Hooker.

³ Church Art. xii.

it receives. "This opinion," however, adds the historian, "was refuted by several prelates." ¹

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Luther's account of faith brought into discussion the question of *assurance* of salvation, or at least of present acceptance with God; which occasioned long and sharp debates among those who were deputed to draw up the decisions of the council. It was at first maintained, 'that uncertainty was both profitable and meritorious,' as conducing to humility and diligence. Jeripandos, general of the Eremites, and subsequently one of the presidents of the council, with Vega and Soto, the leaders respectively of the Franciscans and Dominicans, adduced passages on that side from scripture and the fathers: but Catharinus and Marinarius alleged others from the same fathers on the contrary side; "which shewed that they had spoken on this particular as the occasions required, sometimes to comfort the scrupulous, and sometimes to repress the self-confident." By degrees, so much certainly seemed to be admitted "as did exclude all doubt:" and it was argued, "As he that is hot is sure that he is so, and should want sense if he doubted it, so he that hath grace in him doth perceive it, and cannot doubt it:" ² yet it is by the sense of the mind, and not by divine revelation." The argument, however, that this conclusion was "too much in favour of the Lutherans," had great weight

¹ D. P. vii. 36.

² There is a manifest fallacy in this argument. A man may be sure, from his own perceptions, that a certain effect is produced in his mind, but may still doubt whether it is the effect described in holy scripture, as the unequivocal fruit and proof of divine grace. Not the existence of the thing is doubted: that is matter of sense: but its agreement with an external archetype—the description elsewhere given.

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against it ; and the subject was left undecided, at least for the present. “ He,” says F. Paul, that has not seen the minutes of those who took part in these discussions, and how far they differed from those which were printed, would not believe how much was spoken upon this article, and with how much heat, not only by the divines, but by the bishops also.”¹

Free will.

The subject of works, considered as preparatory to grace, or as resulting from it, introduced the question of *free will*, with all the captions and perplexing subtilties of which it is susceptible. Here, however, as well as on the subject of predestination, we shall be surprised at the degree of what, in modern language, would be called Calvinism, which was found in the council.—On this occasion again certain articles were collected from the Lutheran writings, some of them such as we have seen advanced in the early editions of Melancthon’s Common Places, which deny free agency to the creature as such ; others relating to free will in the sense in which it is considered as, in man, lost by the fall.—In discussing these, Catharinus, according to the opinion which he had before maintained,² that without God’s special assistance man cannot do what is morally good, contended “ that the article, ‘ That free will is only in doing ill, and hath no power to do good,’ was not so easily to be condemned.—Vega, after speaking with such ambiguity that he understood not himself, concluded that between the divines and the protestants there was no difference of opinion. . . . But he was not favourably heard, the sentiment being obnoxious, that any of the differences might be reconciled.”—

¹ F. Paul, 192—194. Cour. i. 323—326.² F. P. 184. C. i. 307.

'Soto defended very fearfully" the opinion, that the consent of man's free will is necessary to give efficiency to divine grace, "because there was opposed to it¹ this argument, *that the distinction of the elect from the reprobate would in that case proceed from man, contrary to the perpetual Catholic sense—which is, that it is grace alone which separates the vessels of mercy from the vessels of wrath.*²...The free speech of Catanea and the other Dominicans," on this side, "did also trouble those, who knew not how to distinguish the opinion which attributes justification to (man's) consent, from that of the Pelagians: and they therefore wished care to be taken, lest, through too great eagerness to condemn Luther, they should run into a contrary extreme—that objection being esteemed above all, that *by this means the divine election or predestination would be for works foreseen—which no divine did admit.*"³

This brought on the question of *predestination*. And on this subject both F. Paul and Dupin testify, that, "nothing being found that deserved censure in the writings of Luther,⁴ in the Confession of Augsburg, or in the Apologies and Conferences," articles were drawn from

Predestina-
tion.

¹ "By Louis of Catanea." Courayer.

² Previously to this it had been argued, "that the first beginning of salvation proceeds from the vocation of God;" but "holy scripture doth attribute our conversion to God, and that it is not fit to forsake the form of speech which it useth." F. P. 185, 186. C. i. 311. D. P. vii. 35.

³ F. P. 194—197. C. i. 326—331. D. P. vii. 42, 43.

⁴ I confess that, after reading Luther's book de Servo Arbitrio, I feel some surprise at the fact here recorded: but let the reader compare with it Maclaine's assertion, above noticed, that "the doctrines of absolute predestination, &c. were never carried to a more excessive length, nor maintained with a more virulent obstinacy, by any divine, than they were by Luther." In Mosheim iv. 40.

the books of the Zuinglians, which furnished "ample matter." And here, "though the opinions were divers," yet "the most esteemed divines among them thought," that even the high supralapsarian doctrine—making rejection to be, equally with election, independent of works foreseen¹—"was catholic, and the contrary heretical, because the good school-writers, Aquinas, Scotus, and others did so think;" and also because of scriptural passages which they cited. "Endless authorities from S. Augustine" were also adduced: "for that saint wrote nothing in his old age but in favour of this doctrine."—F. Paul says, "As this opinion is mysterious and incomprehensible, suited to humble man, to keep him dependent solely on God, and to make him more sensible of the deformity of sin and the excellency of divine grace; so the contrary was plausible and popular, cherishing human presumption, and more suited for display: whence it pleased more the preaching friars than the understanding divines.—The courtiers approved it as favourable to civil government.... Its defenders, while using only human reasons, prevailed over the others: but, coming to the testimonies of scripture, they were manifestly overcome."

After such a report, closed by such an opinion, we can feel no surprise at this celebrated writer's having been pronounced "a Calvinist in a friar's frock."²—It is to be observed, however, that he reports also the arguments and objections on the other side, putting the latter in as keen a

¹ The reason for an essential difference in the two cases is palpable—evil works being the *natural* produce of the mind of fallen man, good works the fruit of divine grace; the consequence therefore, and not the first cause, of God's favour.

² Bossuet: above, vol. i. pref. p. xvi.

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manner, as a partisan on that side could reasonably wish. But here we enter into no examination of the arguments on either side: we simply record the opinions which were stated, and the several grounds on which they were maintained—particularly where either one or the other was such as to excite surprise, considering the place where they were urged.—We may add, that Catharinus avowed the same sentiment which was adopted by our own Milton, and by Dr. John Edwards—in other respects a zealous Calvinistic writer at the beginning of the last century; namely that some are

“ chosen of peculiar grace
Elect above the rest; ”¹

but that many others will attain to salvation by the due use of the means and assistances vouchsafed them.—Catharinus further said, “ that S. Augustine held, that, though God *hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will be hardeneth*, yet this will of God cannot be unjust because it is founded on VERY OCCULT MERITS.”²

These discussions were frequently marked by much animosity. In particular, we blush to record the more than indecorum, the disgraceful violence into which the bishop of Cava was betrayed. He, as we have before seen, had avowed more correct sentiments, than perhaps any other person present, on the all-important doctrine of justification: and, these being opposed by several of his brethren, he occupied a whole sitting of a subsequent congregation in maintaining them. At the close, the bishop of Chiron

Violence of
debate in
the council.

¹ Par. Lost. iii. 183, &c.

² F. Paul, 197—200. Cour. i. 331—337. Du. Pin, vii. 43—45.

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having said, "that he hoped at the next meeting to refute him, and to demonstrate to him his ignorance or his obstinacy," he was so incensed as to take his right reverend brother by the beard, and tear out some of the hair! He was in consequence committed to custody, and condemned to perpetual banishment—the pope having suggested to the council, that they should pronounce a severe sentence, that he himself might have the merit of mitigating it, and then sending the untractable bishop to his diocese, where he would give them no further trouble: all which was accordingly done.¹

Great rudeness and insolence also passed, at this time, between different prelates, and even between the cardinals acting under the pope's commission, on the subject of removing or adjourning the council, on account of the alarm which the fathers felt at the position occupied by the protestants, now in arms against the emperor. Charles himself was so averse to any suspension of the council's proceedings, that he, by his ambassador, threatened to throw cardinal Santa Croce, one of the presidents, into the river Adige if he dared to propose it.²

Difficulty of
drawing up
the decisions.

In drawing up the decisions of the council on the complicated questions which had been discussed, great difficulties were found in so framing them, that they should not impugn the opinions of one or other of the parties who were to concur in them: and in overcoming these difficulties cardinal Santa Croce, in particular, laboured with unwearied zeal and consummate art for three months together, both in congregations held for the purpose, and in conferences

¹ Du Pin, vii. 38, 39.

² D. P. vii. 39—42. F. P. 189, 190. C. i. 318.

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with individuals. "From the beginning of September to the end of November, there passed not a day in which the cardinal did not revise what was done before, and change something" — till, as is manifest from some instances which F. Paul recites, all meaning was lost. "And truly," adds the same author, "it is not fit to rob the cardinal of his due praise, who knew how to satisfy men obstinate in contrary opinions."—When the decree was modelled "so as to be approved by all in Trent, it was sent to the pope, who submitted it to the friars and learned men for their opinion; and it was approved by them, because every one might understand it in his own sense."—In expressly assigning such a reason, our author no doubt indulges his sarcastic humour: but, how truly the fact was as that reason alleges, we shall ere long see strikingly demonstrated.

At length, in the sixth session, held January 13, 1547, the decree of the council was promulgated, consisting of sixteen articles, followed by thirty-three canons; the former laying down the approved doctrine, and the latter anathematizing the errors opposed to it.—It would not be to our purpose to enter into the particulars of a decree, which was said to have "decided more articles in one session, than all the councils held in the church from the apostles' times had done;" in which "Aristotle might claim a great part, since, if he had not exactly defined all the various *kinds of causes*, we had wanted many articles of faith;" and which "must be read over and over again with much attention and deep meditation, because it cannot be understood without a perfect knowledge of the inmost movements of the mind—all the doctrine of the council turning upon this hinge,

Decree of
Session VI,
on Justifi-
cation, &c.
Jan. 13,
1547.

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whether the first object of the will work upon that faculty, or that faculty upon it—or whether they be both active and passive : things most subtile, and, for the various appearances they make, ever accounted disputable.”¹—Without entering into these refinements, we may remark, that, though some things apparently better than have been held by many protestants are laid down concerning the necessity of Christ’s propitiation, of faith in him, and of prevenient grace in order to acts of faith, hope, and charity ; yct the doctrine at large is very corrupt—the doctrine of men who know not, in any feeling and impressive manner, the fall of man, the corruption of their own hearts, the evil of sin, the grace of God, or the gospel of Christ. It bears upon its very face, that it is the work of mere speculators—men deciding dogmatically upon divine truths under the guidance of unhumbled carnal reason. In this respect it forms the most striking contrast to the writings of the reformers, which we have reviewed—not excepting the more reserved and formal composition required in such a work as the Confession of Augsburg. Even there all was life and feeling ; tenderness of conscience, and a quick sense of sin—of corruption and condemnation ; and of the need and the blessedness of deliverance by a Redeemer. Here, on the contrary, we are chiefly reminded of the apostle’s sentence, “The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him ; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.”

A few short specimens of the language and sentiments of this decree shall be given, and

¹ I collect, and slightly abridge, from F. Paul, 213, 214. Cour. i. 363—366.

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ey will amply suffice. The sixth article explains "how adults dispose, or prepare themselves for justification." The seventh defines justification to be, "not only remission of sins, but sanctification, and a renovation of the inner man, by a voluntary reception of grace and the gifts which accompany it: of which the *final* cause is the glory of God, and eternal life; the *efficient* cause, God himself; the *meritorious* cause, our Lord Jesus Christ; the *instrumental* cause, baptism—without which (and the desire and purpose to receive it,) no man can be justified; and the *formal* cause, the righteousness of God, by which he justifies us, so that we are not only *reputed* just, but *really* so, by receiving into ourselves his righteousness, according to our measure, and the distribution which the Holy Spirit makes, and according to every man's disposition and cooperation with the Spirit."—*Assurance* is neither discountenanced than denied, in the council; but it is treated with marvellous obscurity. The tenth speaks of "the increase of the justification we have received, by advancing from virtue to virtue." The eleventh denies that a justified man is unable to fulfil the law, "because God never commands impossible things."¹ In the twelfth and thirteenth articles, not so much the doctrines of predestination to life and final perseverance, as the fact that any man can know himself to be concerned in those gracious decrees of heaven, seem to be denied. The fourteenth teaches, that "those who by sin fall from the grace of justification cannot rise again but by the sacrament of penance, which is called, a *second plank after*

¹ See Melancthon on this subject, above p. 229, 230.

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shipwreck." The sixteenth admonishes the faithful not to attribute too much to their good works, "but to acknowledge the extreme goodness of our Lord, who is willing that *his own gifts* should become *their merits*." Hence, as well as from the seventh article, it is manifest how entirely the righteousness whereby we are justified is held to be "our own," only it is called "the righteousness of God" as "proceeding not from ourselves," by our own unassisted powers, but from his gift—"being by him, for the merit of Christ, *infused* into us."—All this well illustrates, by contrast, the Articles and Homilies of our church, and Hooker's Discourse of Justification.—In the twenty-fifth of the canons, those are anathematized who say, "that in every good work the just man sins venially, at least, if not mortally, and consequently deserves eternal punishment; and that the sole reason why he is not damned is, because God imputes not his works to him for damnation."¹

Points of
Reforma-
tion.

Residence,
and the
right of
bishops.

According to a concession which had been made, principally to the demands of the civil rulers, that the consideration of points of doctrine and points of discipline should proceed *pari passu*, the question of the residence of the bishops and clergy accompanied that of justification. It involved very delicate and difficult inquiries—particularly, whether the residence, and by consequence the authority of bishops were of divine right, or depended on papal appointment. Those who wished to reduce the authority of the sovereign pontiff main-

¹ F. Paul, 201, 202, 209—211. Cour. i. 338, 352—360. Du Pin, vii. 47—52. The latter writer gives the decrees more fully; and from him therefore I draw my accounts of them.

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ained the former: so that we have here the markable spectacle of the party, which desired the greater degree of religious liberty than had hitherto been enjoyed, contending, in order to promote their object, for episcopacy as of divine right! And among these a principal one is to be assigned to the Spanish deputies and ecclesiastics! Their opponents held, "that episcopacy was of divine institution in the pope only, and of papal institution in all other bishops."—But this question too nearly affected the prerogative of the supreme governor of the church, to be willingly entertained: and by the pope's command the legates procured it to be postponed. A decree, however, was passed for promoting residence, which attained not the end proposed, but, as F. Paul observes, "made more confusion then, and prepared matter for other times."

In connexion with the regulation of residence, it was proposed to define the qualifications requisite in persons to be advanced to the higher dignities of the church: and on this subject, according to the same historian, "very grave sayings were delivered, with great ostentation," but nothing was accomplished: "for, where canons presented, the council saw not with what bonds to bind them; where election had place, the chapters consisted of great and mighty persons; and, where the pope nominated, (to whom all bishoprics, and more than two thirds of the benefices belonged,) it was not fit to prescribe law to the apostolic see. Wherefore, after many and long discourses, it was concluded that it was better to leave the business:" and the council contented itself with expressing its trust in the mercy of God and the vigilance of his vicar on earth, that for the future none

Qualifications of church dignitaries.

CHAP.
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interpreta-
tion of the
decrees.Soto and
Vega.

should be advanced to the government of churches, (a burden sufficient to make angels tremble,) but those who should be found to be every way worthy.”¹

We have said that proof was soon afforded, that the late decrees of the council admitted of widely different interpretations. Immediately after the session just described, Soto, the Dominican, wrote three books on Nature and Grace, which he dedicated to the council, to be, as he said, “a commentary” on its decrees concerning original sin, justification, and the subjects connected with these—finding in the decrees all his own opinions. This called forth from Vega, the Franciscan, fifteen large books on the same subject, in which the several articles of the decrees were so expounded as to confirm all *his* sentiments—“differing from those of Soto in almost all points, and in many directly contrary to them.” “The reader of these works,” says F. Paul, “may well marvel, that two persons, the chief for learning and reputation in the council, and who had borne a principal part therein, did not know the true scope and meaning of its decisions ;....and I could never find, whether the assembly did agree in one *sense*, or whether there was unity of *words* only.”

Soto and
Catharinus.

Nor was this all : but, Soto having, in his book, asserted with respect to assurance, that the council had denied the possibility of any man's knowing, with such certainty as to exclude all doubt, that he is possessed of grace ; Catharinus, now made bishop of Minori, wrote against him, maintaining the very contrary, and that the council had in effect declared it *a duty*

¹ F. Paul, 203—207, 211—214. Cour. i. 341—348, 360—367. Du Pin, vii. 45—47, 52, 53,

Abstract

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of baptism and confirmation in particular, was proposed for the next session. And on these topics numerous articles were collected, or pretended to be collected, from the writings of the Lutherans,¹ some of which unblushingly ascribed to them the errors of the anabaptists.

Here again extended discussions took place; and the Franciscans and Dominicans contended so fiercely about the *manner* in which the sacraments contain and convey grace, that the legates were under the necessity of applying both to the generals of those orders, and to the pope, to admonish them to restrain themselves within more decent boundaries, as their dissensions brought the council into disrepute.

It was proposed on this subject, as on the head of justification, first to lay down the doctrine to be received, and then to condemn errors opposite to it: but it was found so difficult, or rather so impracticable, to define the doctrine in such a manner as not to infringe the sentiment of one party or the other, that, by the advice of the pope, the design was abandoned, and the council contented itself with passing canons to anathematize certain errors.—His holiness desired also, that the subject of the abuses of the sacraments should be wholly passed over; “it being impossible to touch that string without offending the whole order of poor priests and friars,” (who derived a great proportion of their emoluments from an actual profanation of the sacraments,) “and without giving the heretics ground of triumph, by confessing that formerly such notable absurdities had been approved.”²

The canons accordingly established in the seventh session, March 3, 1547, were in number

Canons of
Session
VII, on the
sacraments,
March 3.

¹ Du Pin, vii. 54, 55.

² F. P. 232, 241. C. 398, 415, D. P. 59.

irty; thirteen on the sacraments generally, thirteen on baptism, and three on confirmation. We may mention the tenor of such as carry with them any interest to us, before we notice some things that passed in the discussion which led to their adoption.—All were anathematized who should say that the sacraments were more or fewer in number than seven; that the sacraments of the New Testament differed from those of the Old only in the external rites; that all the sacraments were of equal excellence; that they are not necessary to salvation; that they were instituted only to nourish faith; that they do not *contain* that grace which they signify, and *confer* it on those who put no hindrance in the way—namely, by mortal sin persisted in at the time: all likewise who should deny that the three sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and orders, imprint on the soul *a character*, or spiritual and indelible mark; or that, in administering the sacraments, the minister's intention at least to do what the church does is necessary.¹

For the precise number of seven sacraments, the schoolmen, it appears, had invented the most ridiculous reasons, drawn from “the seven virtues, the seven capital vices, the seven defects proceeding from original sin,” and various other fancies.²

Seven
Sacraments.

On comparing the several real or supposed sacraments together, baptism was preferred for its utility and necessity; matrimony for its signification; confirmation, for the dignity of him who was to administer it; the eucharist, as an act of worship. And these “scholastic

Their
several
excellences.

¹ D. P. vii. 64. F. P. 246. C. i. 425.

² F. P. 219. C. i. 376.

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How they
contain and
convey
grace.

fooleries" were thought worthy of being on the ground of a solemn anathema! ¹

As to the manner in which sacraments "confer grace on him who puts no hinderance in the way," (though it could not be seen how they "contain" grace,²) the council determined that it is *ex opere operato*, or by virtue of the thing done, and not *ex opere operantis* or in consequence of the state of mind of who does it.³

Those of the
Old Test.

Concerning the sacraments of the Old Testament, as compared with those of the New, it was held, that the former were "only signs of grace," whereas the latter contain and confer it. Luther and Zuinglius were here said to have held, that there was "no difference in the external rites:" S. Bonaventure and Scotus had maintained, "that circumcision confers grace, *ex opere operato*:" and S. Augustine said, that the sacraments of the Old Testaments were "diverse in the sign, equal in the thing signified." ⁴

Character
imprinted.

The subject of "the character" imprinted by baptism, confirmation, and orders was scarcely less perplexing than that of the manner in which the sacraments contain grace. Soto endeavoured to prove that the character had its foundation in scripture, and had been held for an apostolical tradition: but others were content to take a lower ground. But "what the character was, or where it was situate, was found difficult to determine, on account of such a multiplicity of school-opinions; making it a spiritual power, some a habit, some a disposition, some a spiritual figure, and

¹ F. Paul, 221. Cour. i. 379. ² F. P. 222. C.

³ F. P. 221. C. i. 380. Du Pin, vii. 56.

⁴ F. P. 223. C. i. 383.

sensible metaphorical quality.¹ Some would have it to be a real relation, and some a fiction to the mind :—whom it behoved," says F. Paul, "to declare, how far it differed from nothing."²

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The absurdities which follow from requiring the right intention of the priest as necessary to the validity of a sacrament, especially among those who make so much to depend exclusively on sacraments, were pointed out by Catharinus with such force and clearness, that it seems wonderful how the council could resist his arguments: nay, he himself afterwards affirmed in a work which he published, that the fathers were of his opinion, and that their determination ought so to be understood!—"Children," he urged, "must be damned, penitents remain unabsolved, the people without the communion, the priest were an infidel, or a formal hypocrite, and in administering sacraments did not intend what the church did." He added, "If any said these cases were rare, would to God they were so! But, suppose there were only one such priest, and that he baptized only one child without the intention to convey true baptism; that child, when grown up, might become the bishop of a great city, live many years in his charge, and ordain most of the priests within its limits. Yet he, being himself unbaptized, is not ordained, nor are they ordained that are promoted by him. And thus, in that great city, there will be neither eucharist nor confession! Behold millions of nullities of sacraments by the malice of one minister, in one act only!"—The council, however, could not dissent from the previous one

Intention of
the priest.

¹ Brent.—"Une qualité sensible metaphorique." Cour.

² F. P. 224. C. i. 384-5. D. P. vii. 57.

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On profes-
sions of
submission
to the
church.

of Florence, which had held the intent necessary; and they accordingly, as we have seen, enjoined that doctrine to be received and believed under an anathema.¹

In the course of these discussions, Cignani, bishop of Albenga, who on this occasion at least shewed himself an honest and sagacious man, made some observations which may assist us in estimating the value to be set on the professions, made by all, of deferring the judgment of the church, however contrary it might be to their own. He said: “The usual protestations of the doctors, that they referred themselves to the decisions of the church, were terms of good manners and reverence which ought to be met with as much respect in return, by the council’s keeping itself neutral where contrary opinions prevailed.² He that would be respected must shew respect again, and we ought never to believe that he who said he referred himself, and submitted to the church, had a purpose to do it [by reason of abandoning his own sentiments,] if occasion offered” of maintaining them. He mentioned Luther his instance—but unjustly, as far as Luther’s intentions *at the time* he made the professions were concerned. The conclusion which he drew from his argument was, that they should “tolerate all the opinions . . . and take care that all parties might live in peace.”

Reforma-
tion re-
voked from
the council
to the pope.

The articles of reformation, considered in connexion with the question of the sacrament related to certain abuses as to the time, place and circumstances of administering baptis-

¹ F. Paul, 225-6. Cour. i. 387. Du Pin, vii. 59.

² On such points as were now debated.

³ F. P. 232. C. i. 400. D. P. vii. 59.

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1547.

to demanding money for that service.¹ the adjourned subject of residence was revived, and that of pluralities introduced: which so disturbed the pope² that he issued a bull "revoking the whole business of reformation, from the council, to himself."³

The Spanish bishops, who were anxious to recover the privileges which the popes had usurped, were so much dissatisfied with the whole plan of proceeding relative to reformation, that they became unmanageable and mutinous; so it was found necessary to hasten back those bishops who had left the council, in order to re-vote them. In short, the course which things took at Trent, and the violent animosities of the Dominicans and Franciscans ("whose differences were no less than those with the Lutherans,") were so alarming that the pope, full of apprehensions, "that the council would produce some great monster, to the prejudice of himself and the papacy." He therefore suddenly availed himself of circumstances which have been before explained, to make that translation of the assembly to Bologna, which proved a means of suspending its proceedings for

Translation
of the
Council to
Bologna.
March 11.

It was debated whether "receiving" money should be prohibited, as well as "demanding" it: and some argued, that it had been formerly determined, that, though "no temporal thing may be received for the sacraments," yet remuneration may be taken "for the pains of administering them!" F. P. 230. C. i. 397.

Paul III.

F. P. 236. C. i. 407. D. P. vii. 60. 61. Reformation, however, in certain points was decreed, but saving in all things the authority of the holy apostolical see." D. P. vii. 66—68. F. P. 246-4, 247. C. i. 420. 429. After Paul himself discusses the subject of pluralities, commendams, the union of benefices &c. p. 233-235. l. 401—405.

CHAP.
XIII.

Sessions
VIII, IX,
X
Its suspen-
sion: Sept.
17, 1549.
Death of
Henry VIII.

four years.¹—The eighth session therefore, held March 11, 1547, was employed only on the translation of the council; the ninth and tenth on its adjournment, till it was regularly suspended by the pope, September 17, 1549.²

About one month before the translation of the council to Bologna, the fathers received intelligence of the death of Henry VIII. of England, for which, says F. Paul, “they gave thanks to God, and went almost all to the bishop of Worcester,³ congratulating him that he and the kingdom were delivered from the tyranny of a cruel persecutor; saying it was a miracle that the king had left a son of but nine years of age, that he might not be able to tread in his father’s steps. And it is true that he did not tread in them all; for Henry, though he had wholly taken away the pope’s authority, and punished his adherents capitally, yet did ever constantly retain all the residue of the doctrine of the church of Rome: but Edward changed religion.”⁴

1551.
The Coun-
cil resumed
May 1.

Sessions
XI, XII,
XIII.

Decree
concerning
the
eucharist.

On May 1, 1551, the council was resumed; cardinal di Monte, late its first president, now occupying the papal throne, under the title of Julius III. Nothing however of consequence occurred in the eleventh and twelfth sessions, beyond appointing the subject of the eucharist for settlement in the thirteenth, to be held October 11. In that session the doctrine of the church was laid down in a decree comprising eight articles, which established all the absurdities of transubstantiation; asserted that, whereas other sacraments have virtue to sanctify

¹ F. Paul, 238—242, 249—251. Cour. i. 410—416, 434—439. Du Pin, vii. 61—63, 68.

² D. P. 68, &c. 89, 90.

³ Richard Pace, a titular bishop.

⁴ F. P. 243.

A. D.
1551.

in the use of them, this doth *contain the Author of all sanctity* before the use ;” and ordained that “ all the faithful, according to the custom which has ever been received in the catholic church, are obliged to pay to the holy sacrament the worship called *latreia*, which is due to the true God.”—Eleven canons followed, mathematizing all who dissented from any part of the doctrine thus established.¹

In the discussions which took place preparatory to this decree, little occurred which calls for notice. Great absurdity was shewn in the proofs adduced in favour of giving the sacrament to the laity in one kind only. Among them was the Lord’s prayer, in which we ask for “ *daily bread* ” only ; and the circumstance of S. Paul, in the storm at sea, blessing nothing but the “ bread,” of which he and his shipmates partook.—The decree itself gives evidence of the difficulty which was felt in explaining how Christ is received *entire* under one form, when “ his body really exists under the species of bread, and his blood under that of wine : ” but a remedy, or at least a cover, for this perplexity was found in the word “ *concomitance* ; ” the third article asserting, that, “ by virtue of that natural connexion and *concomitance*, by which both these parts are joined together in our Lord, and the divinity likewise, . . . the whole—body, blood, soul, and divinity—are *as much* under either species as under both together : ” a proposition which, literally taken, may be safely admitted.²

Communion in one kind.

The Dominicans and Franciscans contended fiercely on the question *how* the transubstanti-

Mode of transubstantiation.

¹ D. P. vii. 108—110. F. P. 319, 320. C. i. 545—549.

² D. P. vii. 109. F. P. 306, 319. C. i. 525, 526, 546.

ation takes place, or, in other words, in what inexplicable manner an unintelligible effect is produced. The former would not allow that the body and blood of Christ come into the sacrament "by a change of place." "The body," they said, "was where the bread had been, but without *coming* thither." The Franciscans contended, "that by God's omnipotence a body may be truly and substantially in many places; and that, when it doth get a new place, it is in it because it goeth thither not by a successive mutation, but in an instant, in which it gaineth a second place without losing the first."—To present the reader with such proofs how one absurdity begets another, in endless succession, may require some apology: but it may not be without its use to shew into what follies men may run when they forsake the scriptures; what conceits of their own wild imaginations they may mistake for religion; and what sort of investigations actually took place in this notable council.—The Franciscans further asserted, "that the manner of Christ's being in heaven, and in the sacrament, differeth not in substance, but in quantity, or extension:"—in heaven his body occupies the space which naturally belongs to it; in the sacrament "it is substantially, without possessing any place!"—Well may F. Paul observe, "They knew not how to explicate their own meaning."—In the general congregation, which preceded the session, it was resolved, as in some former instances, "to use as few words as possible, and those so general that they might be accommodated to the meaning of both parties." ¹

¹ F. Paul, 309, 310. Cour. i. 530. Du Pin, vii. 105-6.

CHAP.
XIII.

of religion : “ so that he that had heard those doctors speak could not but conclude, that the apostles and ancient bishops did never any thing else but either kneel at confession, or sit to confess others.”¹

Decree.

In the end, anathemas were decreed against all such as should hold, that penance and extreme unction are not “ truly and properly sacraments ;” that the passage, *Whosoever sins ye remit, &c.* is not to be understood of the sacrament of penance, but of “ authority to preach the gospel ;” (though it was urged that some of the ancient fathers had understood it in the latter sense ;) that satisfaction is not made by sufferings voluntarily and submissively borne ; that contrition, confession, and satisfaction [acts of the person himself,] are not “ required for, as it were, the *matter* of this sacrament,” and as “ parts of penance ;” that sacramental confession is not “ instituted and necessary by the law of God ;” that the confession of all mortal sins is “ impossible or unnecessary ;”² that all are not bound to confess at least once a year ; that the sacramental absolution is “ not a judicial, but a declarative act”—though S. Jerome, Lombard, Bonaventure, and almost all the school-divines have said the contrary.³

Session XV.
Jan. 25,
1552.

In the fifteenth session, January 25, 1552, though the council declared itself prepared with a decree and canons on the sacrifice of the

¹ F. Paul, 325. Cour. i. 558. I do not find the closing remark in Courayer.

² Only such, however, as were “ remembered upon diligent self-examination ” were required to be confessed. On this point perhaps the reformers had gained some explanation, at least, if not some concession.

³ F. P. 324—337. C. i. 556—583. D. P. vii. 115—129.

, and the sacrament of orders, nothing of importance was transacted, beyond appointing the next session to be held March 19. The professed reason for delay was, the expected arrival of the protestant divines, and a willingness on the part of the council to wait for them : but, as has been already related, no satisfactory safe-conduct was ever granted ; and it was avowed by some in the council, " that it would not be lawful to treat those whom the church must consider heretics excommunicated and condemned, only to instruct them if they humbly craved pardon to pardon them by favour."¹

A. D.
1552.

At the end, the sixteenth session, which had been fixed by adjournment for May 1, was suspended by anticipation on the 28th of April, when the council was hastily suspended, on account of the alarming progress of Maurice of Saxony's war which he had declared against the emperor.²

Session
XVI.
Council
again
suspended.
April 28.

The fathers did not reassemble till January 1562, under Pius IV, who had succeeded Pius IV, in 1559. The new presidents were, Cardinal of Mantua, Hercules Gonzaga, and Cardinal Seripando : and, to prevent the bishops, desirous to recover some portion of their lost influence, from introducing troublesome motions, it was decided, by adroitly inserting the words *prohibitis legatis* in the decree for opening the council, to limit the right of proposing any business in the assembly to the presidents appointed by the pope. This passed with little

Again
resumed.
Jan. 18,
1562.

P. 343. C. i. 591.

P. 338, 347, 353. C. i. 583, 597, 607. D. P. vii. 3. 136, 137.

CHAP.
XIII.Prohibition
of heretical
books.

observation at the time, but it afterwards occasioned great altercation. The pope, however, insisted upon the restriction being rigidly adhered to.¹

Much discussion ensued concerning the prohibition of heretical books. The practice of prohibiting the reading of them had been adopted by the church of Rome from the ninth century. Leo X. first denounced excommunication against those who read them. The inquisitors first made catalogues of such books; and Philip II, in the year 1558, first gave authority to the Index, or list of prohibited works, and ordered it to be printed. Paul IV, the following year, ordered that a more complete catalogue should be formed by the Holy Office, and generally received. In the Index in consequence composed, were included the Annotations of Erasmus on the New Testament, (which Leo X. had approved by a brief in 1518,) and such books as supported the rights of princes against the encroachments of the clergy, or those of councils and bishops against the usurpations of the court of Rome. Nay this Index went so far as to proscribe all books, "of what author, art, or idiom soever," printed by sixty-two printers who were named, or by any others who had ever printed the books of heretics: so that there scarcely remained, says F. Paul, a book to be read. And thus, he further remarks, "was the foundation laid for maintaining and advancing the authority of the court of Rome, by depriving men of that knowledge which is necessary to defend them from usurpations....In a word, a better device was

Remarks
of F. Paul.

¹ F. Paul, 437—440. Cour. ii. 132—134. Du Pin, vii. 186—189.

never found for stultifying men, under the pretence of making them religious.”¹

A. D.
1562.

Question of residence, and of the right of bishops, revived.

The question of residence, and with it that of the divine or merely human right of all other prelates beside the bishop of Rome, was now revived; and it continued to perplex the pope and his adherents till near the close of the council. It would appear that the *jus divinum* was actually carried by a majority in the council: but, great confusion having arisen, the legates so managed matters as to have the question referred to the pope himself; and thus all decision upon it was avoided, and nothing beyond adjournment passed in either the nineteenth or the twentieth session.² But the feelings which prevailed are very strikingly expressed by F. Paul: “The mutual distastes between those at Rome and those at Trent were increased on the arrival of every courier. At Trent, the avourers of residence bewailed the miseries of the church, the servitude of the council, and the manifest hopelessness of seeing the reformation proceed from Rome. The opposite party lamented, that a schism was plotted in the council, or rather *an apostacy from the apostolic see.*”³

Sessions
XIX, XX.
May 4.
June 4.

In the twenty-first session, the subject of the eucharist was resumed, chiefly with regard to

Session
XXI.
The eucharist. Granting the cup to the laity.
July 16.

¹ F. P. 441—443, 449. C. ii. 136—142, 148. D. P. ii. 192, 198.

² F. P. 464, 474, 478. C. ii. 172, 186, 193. D. P. vii. 11, 216, 225. A large proportion of the fathers voted *absolutely* in favour of divine right, a minority *absolutely* against it, and several for it and several against it *conditionally*. By reporting the numbers somewhat differently, and reckoning all against it who were not *absolutely* for it, Pallavicini makes the majority to be on the side which was agreeable to the court of Rome. C. ii. 172-3.

³ F. P. 481. C. ii. 198-9.

some points which had not been decided in the thirteenth. A main point was the granting, or still withholding the cup from the laity. Powerful applications were made for its being granted, both from the emperor and the king of France: and the cardinal of Ferrara, legate in France, had written word, that by the granting of the communion in both kinds, at least two hundred thousand souls would be gained to the church in that kingdom alone.¹ In discussing the question, however, the same absurd arguments, as were before used, were reproduced and enlarged upon: "and it was matter of great patience," says F. Paul, "to hear all the speakers repeat the same things," and to listen to "all that was uttered by some not to be silent when other's spake." To the instance of S. Paul's blessing the bread only on shipboard, were now added that of the manna given to the Israelites, which was unaccompanied by any liquid, and that of Jonathan's extraordinary refreshment by eating honey alone, and not drinking with it! The fancy of Payva, a Portuguese divine, "delivered very seriously," may also be mentioned. He maintained "that Christ, both by precept and example, declared the bread to be due to all, and the cup to priests only: for, having consecrated the bread, he gave it to his disciples, who were then laics only; but, having ordained them priests by the words, *Do this in remembrance of me*, he then consecrated the cup and gave it them likewise!"²—In the end it was decreed, that communion in both kinds is not necessary; that the church has had good and sufficient reason for allowing the bread

¹ F. Paul, 429. Cour. ii. 116.

² F. P. 479, 486-7, 500. C. ii. 195, 205-6, 228. Du Pin, vii. 225, 230.

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1562.

y to the laity; and that Christ is received
ire under one species—though, whether *as*
ch grace is received under one kind as under
h, the fathers would not determine. An-
emas were added against all who should
d contrary opinions. But, though the prac-
e of withholding the cup was justified, the
stion whether at all, and, if so, on what con-
ions, a departure from that practice should
future be allowed, was reserved for sub-
quent consideration.¹

Some things which passed when the French
bassador, supported by the representation of
dinal Ferrara, above mentioned, besought
: pope to grant the cup to the laity, may
erve also to be recorded. "The pope, (Pius
,) according to his natural disposition," F.
al says, "suddenly answered, without any
meditation, that he had always considered the
mmunion in both kinds, and the marriage
priests, as things *de jure positivo*—of positive
stitution—in dispensing with which he had
much authority as the universal church; and
at for this opinion he had been thought a
theran in the last conclave." He would not
ever resolve on any thing without first
posing it in the consistory of cardinals: and,
en that was done, the cardinal of Cueva said,
at he would never give his voice in favour
such a demand; and that, if it were so re-
ved by authority of his holiness and the con-
nt of the cardinals, he would go to the top
the stairs of S. Peter's, and cry *Misericordia*!
th a loud voice; not forbearing to say, that
e prelates of France were infected with

Sentiments
of the
pope and
cardinals.

F. P. 502. C. ii. 231. D. P. vii. 242. On the
ment consideration, the question was referred to
the pope. F. P. 538. C. ii. 290.

heresy." The cardinal of S. Angelo declared, "that he would never give a cup of such deadly poison to the people of France, instead of a medicine; and that it were better to let them die"—by deserting the church—"than to cure them with such remedies." The cardinal of Alexandria said, "that it could not by any means be granted by the pope in the exercise of his plenary power—not for want of authority in him over all things *de jure positivo*, (in which number he acknowledged this to be,) but on account of the incapacity of him that demanded it. For the pope cannot give power to do evil: but it is a heretical evil to receive the cup *thinking it to be necessary*: therefore," said he, "the pope cannot grant it to such persons."¹

Sessions
XXII.
The Mass.
Sept. 17.

The twenty-second session laid down the doctrine of the mass, declaring that Christ, "because his sacrifice was not to end with his death, in order that he might leave to his church such a visible sacrifice as the nature of man requires, . . . gave himself to be sacrificed in the church by priests under visible signs; and that this sacrifice is truly propitiatory." Anathemas were also promulgated against all who should maintain, that the sacrifice of the mass is "only one of praise and thanksgiving, and not propitiatory;" or that it is "profitable only to him that receives it, and ought not to be offered for the living and the dead:" or that should deny that in the words, *Do this in remembrance of me*, Jesus Christ did ordain the apostles priests, and command that they and other priests should offer his body and

¹ F. Paul, 429, 430. Cour. ii. 117, 118. Those who did not think it necessary would hardly disturb the church to obtain it, and those who did must not have it allowed them: so that it would be granted to none.

od : or that should affirm that the canon of
 : mass (the Romish prayer of consecration)
 tains errors, and ought on that account to
 discontinued ; or that the ceremonies used
 the celebration of the mass are contrary to
 ty ; or that private masses, in which the
 est alone communicates “ sacramentally ”—
 : people being supposed to do it “ spiritually ”
 are unlawful ; or that the mass ought only
 be celebrated in the vulgar tongue ; or that
 ter ought not to be mixed with the wine.”¹

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 1562.

On continuing the services in an unknown
 gue, F. Paul remarks : “ He that would
 ow what language is to be used in the
 arch needeth only, without any more dis-
 urse, to read the fourteenth chapter of S.
 al’s first epistle to the Corinthians, which
 l sufficiently inform him, though his mind
 ever so much prepossessed with a contrary
 nion.”²

On services
 in an
 unknown
 tongue.

The proceedings of the council become hence-
 ward, with few exceptions, less interesting
 d important, and may in general be dis-
 ssed with a slight notice. The subject of the
 rt session was the sacrament of orders, with
 : different ranks of ministers, and their respec-
 e powers. The session had been first fixed

Sacrament
 of Orders.

November 12, 1562, but it was postponed
 successive adjournments, occasioned by the
 difficulties which the question before them was
 nd to involve, till July 15, 1563. The
 at point of debate still was, whether the
 hops derived their powers from divine insti-
 ion or only from the pope. The former
 elusion, F. Paul observes, would instantly
 ermine that the keys were not given to

D. P. vii. 264—268. F. P. 534—536. C. ii. 282—287.
 F. P. 540. C. ii. 294.

CHAP.
XIII.

Doctrines
of Lainès,
general of
the Jesuits :

strongly
opposed.

Peter only, but to all the apostles ; that bishops were of cöordinate authority with pope—each in his own sphere ; that the combining their joint authority, was superior to him ; that the dignity of cardinals superior to that of bishops, was but a figment and thus “ the court of Rome would be brought to nothing.”¹ Perceiving all this, Le général of the order of Jesuits, who had just come to the council, procured a distinct congregation to be assigned him, in which might be fully heard upon the subject. He maintained, that jurisdiction in the church belonged solely and exclusively to the bishop of Rome ; and that Peter alone was ordained by Christ, and all the other apostles by him, or, if by Christ himself, yet by him only. “ doing, for that one time, what belonged to Peter,” and what for all future time he himself had exclusively committed to him. At the council, he asserted, is made *general*, “ small soever” may be the number of its members, by being pronounced such by the pope, from whom all authority is derived, and to whom he is himself above that which is derived from him. “ He giveth,” Lainès in effect procured “ all their force to the decrees of a council that to which he thus giveth force, and which only, is decreed by the Holy Ghost.” He maintained, that, when a council is held the pope alone *decrees*, and the council “ but *approve*, that is, *receive* the decrees.” These sentiments, however, as might be expected, were violently opposed : the Spanish and French bishops held a directly contradictory doctrine : and the archbishop of Paris, in

¹ F. Paul, 569. Cour. ii. 345.

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1562.
—

icular, declared that such principles “ converted a spiritual kingdom into a temporal tyranny, and made the church, instead of the spouse of Christ, the slave and prostitute of a man.”¹

On the subject of *dispensations*, Lainès, in a subsequent congregation, maintained doctrines of the same extravagant kind, and that “ with as great zeal as if his salvation had been at stake.” He asserted “ that the pope had power to dispense all laws, of what kind soever—the tribunal of the principal and that of the vicegerent being the same:” and that “ to teach men to prefer their own conscience before the authority of the church, is to plunge them in a bottomless pit of dangers.”²

The council was also from time to time harassed by fierce contentions, between different parties, concerning the right of precedence. At the present period such a dispute arose between the French and Spanish ambassadors, in consequence of a device to which the pope had had recourse for putting them on a par at the celebration of mass, when he could not decide between them their claims of priority, as disturbed the congregation during the whole time of the service, and interrupted the solemnities in the most indecent manner: and the cardinal of Lorraine, brother to the duke of Guise, on the part of the French, protested that, if the like attempt were made again, he would himself mount the pulpit, with a crucifix in his hand, and having proclaimed, “ He desires the welfare of Christendom, let

Disputes
for precedence in
the council.

¹ F. P. 570—574. C. ii. 345—354. (“ Une épouse prostituée.”) D. P. vii. 283.

² F. P. 674. C. ii. 507—509.

CHAP.
XIII.

follow me," would quit the church, hoping to be followed by every one present.—Nay, the French were prepared on this occasion to protest against Pius IV, as not rightful pope, and against the decrees which had passed "as made at Rome, and not at Trent, and as being the decrees of Pius, and not of the council."¹

Session
XXIII.
July 15,
1563.

Decree
concerning
orders,

and
residence.

At length, after numberless delays and difficulties, the twenty-third session was held, and the decrees and canons concerning orders were published. Ordination was declared to be a true and proper sacrament, to imprint an indelible character, and to convey power to retain or remit sins; and those who should deny these, and other points now decided, were anathematized. The question of the divine or the derived right of bishops was evaded:² and, on the other disputed subject of residence, the council, after ten month's deliberation and debate, and after sending various embassies and despatches to the pope and all the leading princes of Europe, came to the momentous decision, "that not to reside is sinful, where there is not a lawful cause to the contrary!"³

Session
XXIV.
Nov. 11.
Decree on
marriage.

The subject of the twenty-fourth session, was marriage, which was declared, to be "a true and proper sacrament." But it was also declared, that it is "better and happier to abide in virginity or celibacy than to marry;" and that "churchmen in holy orders, or regulars who have professed chastity," may not contract marriage, and that, if they do, their marriage is void. Anathemas were pronounced against such as should deny these positions, or that

¹ F. P. 680—683. C. ii. 518—523. D. P. vii. 317—320.

² F. P. 677, 683, 687. C. ii. 514, 524, 528.

³ F. P. 690—695. C. ii. 533—544. D. P., vii. 325—333.

marriage, not consummated, is dissolved by a religious vow of one of the parties.¹

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1563.

F. Paul's statement of the policy of prohibiting marriage to the clergy may deserve to be transcribed. "It is plain," he says, "that married priests will turn their affections and love to their wives and children, and by consequence to their house and country: so that the strict dependence of the clergy on the apostolic see would cease. Thus granting marriage to priests would destroy the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and leave the pope bishop of Rome only."²

Policy of
prohibiting
marriage.

It appears that the restrictions upon marriage, on the ground of relationship, had been carried much further in preceding ages than they were at the period of the council of Trent. The prohibition had been extended to the seventh degree of consanguinity or affinity, and applied to the imaginary relationships formed by engaging as sponsors in baptism, as well as to those which have a natural foundation. But pope Innocent III. limited it to the fourth degree, alleging such notable reasons as these, that there were but four elements in nature, and four humours in man's body!³

Prohibited
degrees
reduced.

The twenty-fifth session had been fixed for the ninth of December: but for some time past the leading princes of Christendom, convinced that no good was to be expected from the council, had forborne to press their several objects; allowed their prelates and divines to withdraw; and seemed intent only on bringing the assembly to an end as decently and quietly as possible:⁴ and now, says F. Paul, "the one only aim and joint resolution was to precipitate

XXVth or
closing
Session,
Dec. 3, 4.

¹ F. P. 730, 736. C. ii. 606, 617.

² F. P. 635, 431. C. ii. 449. ³ F. P. 699. C. ii. 552.

⁴ F. P. 658-9, 729. C. ii. 482-3, 603. D. P. vii. 349.

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XIII.

the conclusion.”¹ The day of the session, therefore, was anticipated: and, on December the 3d and 4th, decrees were published on purgatory, the invocation and worship of saints, images, and relics; on indulgences, and prohibited books; as also concerning various subjects of reformation; and finally for terminating the council, and desiring the pope's confirmation of its decisions.

Purgatory.

On some of these heads, though all now “aimed at avoiding difficulties,”² the different parties could not agree; and they were forced to pass over some points, in words that would express the sentiments in which they concurred, without contradicting those in which they differed.²—Concerning purgatory it was thought, that enough was implied in what had been taught concerning the utility of the sacrifice of the mass to the departed, and what remained to be declared concerning the duty of praying for them. The decree therefore did little else than ordain, that such “masses, prayers, alms, and other works of piety as were customarily performed by the faithful here for the faithful that are departed, be offered with piety and devotion, according to the usages of the church;” and then guard against abuses and too curious inquiries connected with the subject.—“The saints who reign with Christ,” it was declared, “offer up their prayers to God for men:” and therefore it was pronounced “a good and profitable thing to call upon them with humility, and to have recourse to their prayers, aid, and assistance, in order to obtain grace and favour from God, through his Son Jesus Christ our Lord.” It was

Invocation
of saints.¹ F. Paul, 729.² Du Pin.

ther decreed, "that the faithful ought to
 / veneration" to the holy bodies and relics
 the martyrs and other saints: and that to
 : images of Jesus Christ, the virgin-mother
 God, and the other saints, "the honour and
 eration ought to be paid which are their due."
 Not that any divinity or virtue is believed to
 in them, for which they should be worship-
 l, but because the honour which is paid
 them is referred to the originals which they
 resent." "All superstition," however, "was
 be taken away, and all filthy lucre to be
 ided:" and considerable anxiety seems
 plied in the decrees, to avoid those crying
 ases upon all these points, which had raised
 general a prejudice, and given the reformers
 powerful a handle against the church of
 me.¹

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1563.

Relics.

Images.

When these decrees had been read, cardinal
 rone, as chief president, granted to every
 e that was present in the session, or had
 isted in the council, a plenary indulgence;
 ssed the council, and dismissed it; saying,
 it, after they had given thanks to God, they
 ght go in peace.²

Dissolution
of the
Council.

"It is incredible," says Pallavicini, "how
 ich the news of the conclusion of the council
 rived the pope in the sickness," under which
 at this time laboured, and from apprehension
 the consequences of which the fathers had
 en more anxious to bring their deliberations
 a close: "so that his holiness would not
 re been without an illness which," by expe-
 ing this happy event, "had been so useful
 the church....He ordered therefore a solemn
 ession to be made the next day to give

Effect on
the Pope.

D. P. vii. 372—374. F. P. 750—757. C. n. 643—645.
 F. P. 757.

thanks to God, and granted indulgences to all who should assist in it.”¹

Fidelity
of F. Paul's
History.

Such is the view given us of this celebrated council by that great writer Fra Paolo Sarpi; whose representations are confirmed by Du Pin, and vindicated, in all material points, against the exceptions of Pallavicini and other zealous Romanists, by the learned French translator of the work, Dr. Courayer—himself also a member of the Romish communion. Though Pallavicini's history was written under the sanction of the court of Rome, to counteract the impression made by that of F. Paul, yet we have seen² that Du Pin declares, that the two histories “agree well concerning the principal facts, and differ little but in things of no moment:” and Courayer scruples not to affirm that, after all, “F. Paul is the historian of the council, and Pallavicini its panegyrist.” “As soon as the history of the former was published,” he says, “it was read with eagerness; and the lapse of more than a century since its first appearance has only enhanced the opinion which the learned, the enlightened, and the impartial formed of it. Rome indeed was offended at it, and left no means untried to lower its estimation, and to discredit its author. But a work essentially good will support itself against the low and interested attacks which may be made upon it; and the slight errors, which the inspection of the Acts of the council, and the discovery of several new memorials relating to it, have detected in this history, have only served to give to the rest more credit and authority.”³—Father Paul, indeed, had not

His sources
of informa-
tion.

¹ Du Pin, vii. 391.

² Vol. i. Pref. p. xvi.

³ Cour. Pref. p. i. and viii.

A. D.
1562.

access to the Acts of the council, and the secret correspondence of the legates who presided in it, which are preserved at Rome, and which were laid open to Pallavicini: but, with the exception of these, (and they might not present the most impartial accounts,) he possessed and mined himself of the best possible sources of information: and no one has been able successfully to impeach his fidelity and honour in the use he made of them. He lived not long after the time, and near the place in which the council was held: he was a man of universal information, and was well acquainted with many who had assisted in the assembly. In particular, he lived on terms of intimacy with Camillus Oliva, secretary to the cardinal of Mantua, first president of the council under Pius IV. He had the use of the journal of Cheregato, nuncio of Adrian VI., the Acts of the legation of Contarini at Paris, part of the letters of cardinal di Monte, first president of the council under Paul III., those of Visconti, bishop of Vintimiglia, the secret agent of Pius IV. at Trent, the memoirs of cardinal da Mula, the despatches of the Venetian ambassadors at the council, and the greater part of those of the ambassadors of France, beside many other private memorandums, from which he derived the suffrages of the prelates and divines on most of the questions which were agitated.²—There can be no ground, therefore, to distrust either the information or the veracity of a work, which, by its “perspicuity and depth of thought,” its various erudition and force of reason,” has for

¹ At Venice. His work was first published in England, anonymously, and not by himself, but dedicated to James I., 1619.

² Cour. Pref. p. iv.

CHAP.
XIII.

His sarcas-
tic repre-
sentations.

more than two centuries maintained its rank "among the most admired historical compositions."¹

With respect to that "malicious turn," which the Romanists especially charge him with having given to the "views and reasonings of the fathers of the council," and those "satirical strokes," which they complain that he has scattered throughout his work, the reader of the present chapter will fully understand what is meant. But it is due to our great author to remark, that those things which have occasioned these complaints appear here in a larger proportion than in the original work. It was natural that they should do so from our design in this review, which was not to give a complete history of the council, but only to present some of its most striking, in many instances, its *extraordinary* features.

Other
authorities.

To this account taken from public histories of the council, we shall now subjoin the evidence of private correspondence of the highest authority.

It is long since the time of F. Paul, that the "Letters of Vargas" and other agents at Trent have come to light, and in the most striking manner completed the proof, how unworthy of all confidence was that council which has been allowed to fix, as far as it ever has been fixed, the faith of the Roman catholic church.

Vargas.

Don Francisco Vargas, fiscal, or remembrancer of the exchequer, to the emperor Charles V, attended the council as one of his ministers during the time of its session under the popes Paul III. and Julius III, and was the person

¹ Robertson, Charles V. iv. 76.

A. D.
1563.

deputed by him to protest against its translation to Bologna. On that and every occasion he acquitted himself so as to obtain the highest character for talents, learning, and whatever else might render him worthy of his master's confidence. How good a catholic he was, notwithstanding* the exposures which he makes of the tyranny and artifice of the pope and his ministers, and of the incompetence of the council, will appear from a passage which will be quoted, and in which he declares his belief, that, after all, "Christ will not suffer the fathers to err in their determinations," and that he shall therefore "bow down his head to them, and believe all matters of faith that shall be decided by them."

His correspondence was carried on with Granvelle, bishop of Arras, afterwards cardinal Granvelle, who, as we have seen, was long the emperor's chief minister, and who, under Charles's son and successor Philip II, established his claim, in the Low Countries, to the title of "*the prince of papists*."¹

We shall add also a few extracts from letters of other agents, addressed to the same minister, particularly those of Father Malvenda — the same, I presume, with whom we have already become acquainted in the conference of Ratibon, and in the affair of Diazius.²

¹ Dr. Geddes.

² Vol. i. 421, 436, 458.—The originals of all this correspondence came into the hands of the British envoy at Brussels, in the reign of James I; but, as it would appear, under the engagement, on his part, to keep them secret during the life-time of the parties who committed them to him. At length the papers were communicated by Sir W. Lambill, secretary of state to king George I. and grandson of the ambassador who first received them, to bishop Stillingfleet; and by him they were committed for translation to Dr

CHAP.
XIII.

1. Precipitation and incompetence of the council.
1551.
Oct. 12.

We will arrange our extracts under distinct heads.

I. The precipitation and incompetence of the council.

“To the prelates. . . . all things appear well at first sight ; and, knowing nothing of matters until they are just ready to be pronounced, they pass them without any more ado.”

Oct. 28.

“I am extremely sensible that a great many things of a very high nature are handled here so slightly, and after such a manner as gives great discontent to the people : and, to speak the truth, I cannot see how either catholics or heretics can be satisfied with what is done.”

Nov. 26.

“This is all I shall say of reformation. As to their way of handling doctrines, I have a great deal to say of it. . . . It troubles one to see how those matters are managed and determined here, the legate doing whatever he has a mind to, without either numbering or weighing the opinions of the divines and prelates ; hurrying and reserving to the last minute the substance of things, which ought to have been well weighed and digested ; the major part not knowing what they are doing—I mean BEFORE the fact ; for, *believing that Christ will not suffer them to err in their determinations, I shall bow down my head to them, and believe all the matters of faith that shall be decided by them.* I pray God, every body else may do the same !—But what is chiefly to be noted is, that the eminent divines that are sent hither by his majesty, namely, the dean and professors of Louvain, persons so famous for learning and

Michael Geddes, chancellor of Sarum, (well known for his works relative to Spain,) who published his translation of them at London, in the year 1714.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

317

A. D.
1561.

are never called to the making of the
and doctrines, or suffered to see whether
be any thing amiss in them."

is really matter of amazement to see how
appertaining to God are handled here,
at there should not be one to contend for
but that we should be all *dumb dogs that*
bark, and look on and suffer the miseries
church to become incurable. . . . 'The
ity not only of this, but of all councils
future, is utterly destroyed."

f a hundred fathers assembled together
here, it is well if twenty of them are
s, and capable of understanding such
s; the greater part of them, though
ise good men, being unlearned; and
that are learned are so in other faculties;
hey understand any thing of divinity, it is
second hand."

he legate and his faction industriously
the examination of doctrines to the very
p."—"Considering that they (the fathers)
correct the decrees upon a bare hearing
read, on the eve of the session, that must
opinion hinder them from having that
ity and majesty which such matters use
e. I pray God give them grace to mend

Oct. 12.

is certainly a great load upon some
s consciences, to consent to having the
iest affairs of Christianity handled after
manner."—"I pray God it (the council)
do more harm than good, and especially
Germans that are here: who seeing how
berty it enjoys, and how much it is under
minion of the legate cannot possibly

Nov. 12

CHAP.
XIII.

2. Its subserviency to Rome.
Oct. 28.

have that respect and esteem for it as is convenient." ¹

II. Subserviency of the council to the pope and court of Rome.

"All that is done here is done by the way of Rome; for the legate, though it were to save the world from sinking, will not depart one tittle from the orders he receives from thence; nor indeed from any thing that he himself has once resolved on."

Nov. 12.

"Words and persuasions do signify very little in this place; and I suppose they are not of much greater force at Rome—those people having shut their eyes, with a resolution, notwithstanding all things go to wreck, not to understand any thing that does not suit their interests."—"I pray God the pope may be prevailed with to alter his measures; though, for my own part, I shall reckon it a miracle if he is, and shall thank God for it as such."

Nov. 26.

"We do but tire ourselves in vain, since, without a miracle, nothing, wherein the pope and his court have any interests or pretensions, can be determined here but to our great prejudice."

It is "visible to the whole world, that all that was done was done at Rome—which was rejoiced at, and boasted of here."

The course taken "is, by artifice and dissimulation, so far to reduce the whole synod to the will of the pope, that it shall be the same thing for the pope alone to deliberate of things at Rome with his creatures, as for the fathers here assembled to do it—which is the truth of the matter, the council being really at Rome, and at Trent nothing but the execution of it: the substance of what is done here being sent

¹ Malvenda, p. 157, 158, 167.

r determined from Rome, and being what pope, and the cardinals deputed there to purpose, and who meet together cōm- mūly, have determined beforehand."¹

2. Tyranny of the legates and emissaries of the pope.

2. Tyranny
of the
legates.
Nov. 12.

The council being entirely deprived of its unity and freedom by the legate, who has put it all entirely into his own hand."

Your lordship may be satisfied that there are not words to express the pride, disrespect, shamelessness wherewith he (the legate) proceeds in these affairs....He says and does things that astonish the world; treating the fathers that are here as so many slaves; pro- voking and swearing, when he is displeased, he will be gone immediately: by which means he carries whatever he has a mind to....

Nov. 26.

I am not able to express how much it troubles me to see God and his majesty thus dis- honored: but the thing speaks for itself. The prelates that are here do highly resent it, many of them reckoning that they wound their consciences by holding their tongues, and letting things to be carried thus....I am assured, if other courses are not taken, that the fathers will be able to restrain them much less, they are so extremely scandalized."

The legate has got the seal into his posses- sion, with which he does not care to trust the council; than which, as nothing in the world can be more unreasonable, so it lets every body see that the synod is not for to exercise any au- thority."—"Denying the seal to the council, he is never to use it but when he shall think fit."

Jan. 10.

Jan. 13.

¹ Vargas, p. 23, 26, 27, 40, 143, 146, 154.



CHAP.
XIII.

Jan. 25.

“The legate has very ill designs going on, and appears to be resolute in them; for he goes about negotiating for votes, as if his life lay at stake: which he looks upon as a very honourable employment. I know the presidents,¹ particularly he of Verona, do not think well of this :....but the presidents are things the legate makes as little account of, as he does of other people.”

Jan. 19.

“I shall ere long give your lordship an account of a business you will be astonished at; which is the legate’s having foisted several passages into the doctrine of Order, which must of necessity ruin all.”²

Jan. 27.

“I had forgot to write concerning the disturbance that is raised here by a clause in the doctrine of the sacrament of Order, into which, without our having it disputed, or so much as communicated to the prelates, they have foisted in the authority of the pope above the council, making as if there was no office in the church, bishoprics not excepted, that are not of his donation and distribution—in contradiction both to the usage of the primitive church, and to the truth of things.”³

“In the middle of voting,” “when they have observed any prelate not to vote as they would have him, they have taken upon them to speak to it before another was suffered to vote, doing it sometimes with soft words, and at other times with harsh; letting others understand thereby how they would have them vote; many times railing at the prelates and exposing them to scorn; and using such methods as would make one’s heart bleed to hear of, and much more to

¹ Two nuncios joined with him.

² Vargas, p. 28, 30, 31, (49, 103,) 84, 86, 96, 99.

³ Malvenda, p. 176.

...all which notwithstanding, the legates
on still with their, *Dicant patres Liberè*;
'at the fathers speak their sentiments freely;')
sh, considering how they carry things, I
der with what face or conscience they can
ounce those words."¹

A. D.
1562.

Most of these passages were written in the
s 1551 and 1552, under the pontificate of
us III, and the presidency of the legate
centio: but some of the papers carry back
representations to the period of the council
er Paul III; (A. D. 1545 to 1547;) and
following extract from a letter of Lanssac's,
French ambassador, to the queen-mother
rance, in 1562, extends them to the last
d of the council, under Pius IV.

Nothing being handled or proposed here
at the pleasure of the legates, who do
ing but what they are commanded to do
Rome; and who, when they have pro-
d any thing, of the sixty bishops that are
, thirty being Spaniards, and the rest
ans, our small handful. . . . if they offer any
g that the legates do not like, are interrupted,
their opinions not followed, every thing
g carried by a majority, . . . most of which
either the pope's pensioners, or entrusted
some office in the court of Rome."¹

1562.
June 7.

7. On the coming of the protestants—an
ct which the council affected earnestly to
re, though they never would encourage it
granting a satisfactory safe-conduct.

4. Coming
of the
protestants.

Your lordship may be satisfied of what I
w to be true, and have written formerly,
sh is, that there is nothing in the world the
e and his ministers abhor and dread so much,

1551.
Oct. 7.

¹ Vargas, p. 140.

² Lanssac, p. 209.

CHAP.
XIII.

as the coming of the protestants to the council: for we can plainly perceive that they are not themselves, nor in a condition to treat about any business, when they are brought to touch on that point.... So that, in truth, it is their whole business to abuse the world by pretending that they do hope and wish that the protestants would come, when at the same time they are contriving all the ways they can think of to shut the door against them."

1552.
Jan. 13.

"His soul" (the legate's) "is ready to leap out of his body to send those that are here home, and to keep the others from coming."¹

1551.
Oct. 12.

"Let them" (the protestants) "come when they will, it will be bad news for the legate and his party; who, for that reason are willing to believe that they will never come; for they are all in a terrible fright, to think of the freedom they may take to speak concerning manners and discipline."²

1552.
Jan. 24.

"The ambassadors of Maurice and Würtemberg, among a few bad things, delivered so many that were good"—in a public congregation in which they were admitted to an audience—"that it was well the people did not hear them."³

"We hear the pope has sent the legate a severe reprimand for having admitted the protestants—Maurice's envoys and those of Würtemberg"—and giving them an audience.⁴

Letter of
Dudithius,
bishop of
Knin.

We will close these extracts with part of a letter written by Andreas Dudithius Shardelatus, bishop of Tinia, or Knin, in Croatia, and afterwards of Five-Churches, in Hungary, to the emperor Maximilian II.—Dudithius is

¹ Vargas, p. 3, (14,) 86.

³ Bishop of Oren, p. 195.

² Malvenda, p. 162.

⁴ Vargas, p. 119, 121.

plied by Du Pui, "one of the most learned and eloquent men of the age."¹ He was sent, with another prelate, to represent the clergy of Hungary in the council: where, the same author says, his boldness and eloquence made him so much feared by the legates, that they successfully urged on the pope the necessity of procuring his recall. His letter will show that a man who had himself witnessed the proceedings of the council, and taken part in its deliberations, could pass a severer censure on that assembly than we have found either P. Paul or any other writer doing.—Thus he records the facts he had witnessed, and the sentiments which they had led him to form.

"What good could be done in a council, in which the votes were not weighed but numbered. . . . We daily saw hungry and needy bishops come to Trent, for the most part youths who had not begun to have beards, abandoned to luxury and riot, hired only to give their votes as the pope pleased. They were without learning or understanding, yet fit for the purpose, through their boldness and impudence. . . . There was a grave and learned man who was not able to endure so great an indignity. He was presently traduced as being no good catholic, and was terrified, threatened, and persecuted, that he might approve things against his will. In due, matters were brought to that pass, by the ignity of those who came thither forward and named for their work, that the council seemed to consist not of bishops, but of disguised monks, not of men, but of images, such as Dadaeus

¹ See account of him, Du Pui, vi. 204-5. He is not to be confounded with Draseowiz, one of the emperor's ambassadors, who, under the name of the bishop of Farcinon, takes a prominent part in the council.

made, that moved by nerves which were none of their own. They were hireling bishops, who, as country bagpipes, could not speak but as breath was put into them. The Holy Ghost had nothing to do in this assembly. All the counsels given there proceeded from human policy, and tended only to maintain the pope's immoderate and shameful domination."—He then adds the sarcasm, before alluded to, that the spirit, which was to direct their determinations, was regularly sent them from Rome.¹

¹ Appended to Brent's Father Paul, 784, 823 : between which pages is inserted, both in Latin and English, a spirited letter of bishop Jewel's, justifying the English church in not sending deputies to the council.

CHAPTER XIV.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE SWISS REFORMATION. EARLY HISTORY OF ZWINGLE AND HIS DISCIPLES.

HITHERTO our history has been, either partially or virtually, confined to the German branch of the reformation. Dr. Milner, indeed, has interspersed in his part of the work some valuable remarks on Zwingle¹ and Ecclampadius.

A
1
—
Subject.

¹ Zwingle appears to be his name among the Swiss. In turning it into Latin, the *w* is of course changed, and he is called *Zuinglius*. But the name with the English termination seems sufficiently naturalized among us to be adopted. I have not thought so of *Ecclampadius*, and therefore retain *Ecclampadius*, which is only a modified Greek version (according to the fashion of the times,) of his real name, *Teuschein*, which appears to signify a *house-lamp*, or lamp for domestic purposes.

Many of the continental names assume the form of the Latin genitive; Melchior *Adami*, Jacob *Andreae*, &c. The *Mac*, and the *Ap*, and the *O'*, prefixed to proper names; and, among ourselves, the word *son* affixed to them; the continental genitive form; the article (understanding *ὁ*) followed by the genitive case among the Greeks; as well as the Greek and Latin patronymics; appear all to have one common design, namely, in designating the son, to distinguish him by pointing out the father from whom he sprang. Thus *Adamson*, *Anderson*, perhaps *Adams*, *Andrews*, &c. would be our version of the names above-mentioned. Whether *Zwingle* is to be considered as one of these patronymic genitives, I know not.

dius, and in my former volume I inserted, at the period it presented itself to me, an account of the deaths of those two great men, which could not fail to interest the Christian reader. But the Swiss reformation, which originated the other great branch of the church emancipated from the errors and domination of the papacy, demands a more full and distinct notice than it has yet received, either in this work, or in other ecclesiastical histories current among us.¹

The Swiss
people.

The Swiss, it is well known, are a peculiar and highly interesting people, who derive much of their character from the country in which their lot is cast. The inhabitants of an abrupt and mountainous district are likely, from the very necessity of the case, to be a hardy and industrious race, long retaining the original simplicity of their manners. Among them, also, the natural love of liberty will be encouraged to exhibit itself, by the facility which their country presents, for even a very small number of persons successfully maintaining their independence against the most numerous and powerful assailants.

The
Helvetic
Confedera-
tion.

Switzerland comprises thirteen cantons, with a number of other states dependent upon them or in alliance with them. The cantons are, by a common treaty, formed into one general body, of which each member, though sovereign within

¹ It is surprising how little account of Zwingle and the Swiss reformation is to be found in Mosheim. A single paragraph by the author, concerning Zwingle's opposition to indulgences, with a few short notes of extravagant *comparative* eulogy appended by the translator, and then subsequently an account chiefly of the controversies between the Zwinglians and the Lutherans, is the substance of what is given on the early history of this important branch of the reformation. Mosheim, 16th Cent. I. ii. 12, and III. ii. 2.

SWISS REFORMATION.

each own territory, is bound to support the confederacy against every foreign enemy. Certain members of the confederacy appear also to be more intimately bound to one another, by treaties of confraternity and co-burghership. The cantons are divided into eight *ancient*, Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, Zug, and Glaris, which were associated during the former half of the fourteenth century, and five *new* cantons, Basle, Friburg, Soleure, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, admitted into the league in the latter part of the fifteenth, and the beginning of the sixteenth century. Five of the cantons we shall find distinguished, both in modern times, and in the times of which we have to treat, as the Roman-catholic cantons, namely, Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, and Zug; and four as the reformed cantons, Zurich, Bern, Basle, and Schaffhausen. Friburg and Soleure also are Roman-catholic, but apparently with a less bigoted zeal than the five: Glaris and Appenzel are mixed in their religion. The five new cantons are also termed *neutral*; because, in case of a rupture between the eight ancient cantons, they are bound not to espouse either party. Of the dependencies of the cantons, several are called *Common Bailliages*; the sovereignty of them belonging to several cantons in common, which alternately send a bailiff to preside over them for a limited term. The greatest part of the country was anciently under the protection of the empire, till protection being extended to dominion, and dominion converted into oppression, several of the cantons united, and asserted their independence, in the early part of the fourteenth century. Their example was followed by their neighbours, and, after a series

of heroic conflicts, the liberty of the whole Helvetic Confederation was established.¹

It is obvious, that in such a country as this the reformation might proceed, without encountering any such powerful opponents as it had to contend with in Germany. Shut up within their own mountains, and each state free and independent within itself, the people had little to fear from either the pope or the emperor, or from any one but the members of their own union, whose powers were so equally balanced or duly checked, as to excite in them little apprehension of danger.

Religious
state of the
country.

Of the religious condition of Switzerland, previously to the reformation, and of the necessity which existed there for that great moral revolution, a sufficiently correct judgment may be formed from the account which has been given of the state of Christendom in general at that period.² “The church of Rome, at the commencement of the sixteenth century,” says Ruchat, in the opening of his history, “had attained such a height of grandeur and power, that it seemed impossible that it should be disturbed. Especially in Switzerland any change of religion appeared hopeless, both on account of the strict alliance which subsisted with the pope, and of the extreme ignorance and corruption which prevailed. But it is in such circumstances,” he piously adds, “that

¹ See “Travels in Switzerland” in the years 1776, 1779, 1785, 1786, by the late Archdeacon Coxe: a work replete with interest and information on every subject—save that of religion. When I speak of the *present* state of Switzerland, I in general refer to nothing more recent than the date of these travels.—I trust the reader may find the information collected in the above paragraph useful for *reference* in various parts of the succeeding history.

² Milner, vol. iv. first chapter on the Reformation.

God is pleased to work, that all the glory may be given to him. His sanctity could not permit him longer to tolerate the *frightful excess* of the disorders which reigned in the churches of Europe, where the Creator seemed to be entirely forgotten, and creatures substituted in his place. But God," the same writer goes on to observe, "must have his true worshippers, who shall *worship him in spirit and in truth*; and hence he raised up at this time, in almost all the states of Europe, (Italy itself not excepted,) pious, learned, and illustrious men, animated with a noble zeal for the glory of God and the good of his church. These great men arose all at once, as if by concert, though actually without any previous communication, against the dominant errors; and by their constancy and resolution, accompanied by the blessing of heaven, happily succeeded in drawing forth the light of the gospel from under the vessel which had covered it, and in effecting a reformation of the church."¹

Zwingle, though he was the great apostle of the Swiss reformation, had had some precursors, who in a measure prepared his way, like the star that is the harbinger of the rising sun. Of these, as the accounts we have of them are brief and jejune, it may suffice to mention John Geiler, surnamed, from the place where he was brought up, Caesaremontanus, or Geiserberger, and Thomas Wyttenbach. The former was a native of Schaffhausen, born in 1445, who "sowed," we are told, "the seeds of divine truth at Strasburg, for thirty-three years together, from 1477 to 1510, in such a

Precursors
of the
reformation.

Geiler

¹ Ruken: refers back to the Preliminary Discourse on the reasons which called for the Reformation.

CHAP.
XIV.Wytt-
bach.

manner, as not so much to have prepared the way of reformation, as actually to have reformed the church of that city." He appears to have been held in high veneration for his sanctity and wisdom: and on this account he was treated with great kindness, and even familiarity, by the emperor Maximilian.¹ Wyttbach was of a noble family at Bienne, and was born there in 1472. He was professor of divinity, first at Tübingen, and afterwards at Basle, and finally became pastor of his native town. At Basle, he had Zwingli, Leo Jude, and others who bore an important part in the work of reformation, for his pupils. Leo Jude commemorates him as a man "accomplished in all kinds of learning, as well as in the knowledge of the sacred scriptures, so that he was esteemed the phoenix of his age. And from him," he says, "both Zwingli and myself derived whatever sound knowledge we have possessed."² Zwingli also says of him, that from him he had first learned "that Jesus Christ is made of God unto us righteousness, and the satisfaction for the sins of the world." He publicly disputed in the divinity schools against indulgences, and for the liberty of marriage to the clergy; and maintained "that the death of Christ is the only ransom of our souls."² As he lived to see his pupils carrying on successfully the great work of reformation, and to animate and coöperate with them in it, he will again claim our notice in the course of the following history. We proceed to Zwingli himself.

Early his-
tory of
Zwingli.

Ulric Zwingli was born January 1, 1484, or, as some say, not till 1487, in the county

¹ Mel. Adam, i. 3—6. Gerdes, i. 100.² Gerd. i. 100, 101. Ruchat, i. 1, 127-8.

EARLY HISTORY OF ZWINGLE.

Tockenbourg, a dependency of the S. Gallen, at a place which, from its mountainous situation, was called Wiler. His father was of a respectable rank, having had the chief magistracy of the district confided to him. Our reformer is to have been chiefly brought up, till he was 14 years of age, with his uncle, an ecclesiastic who held the office of a rural dean, and was distinguished by a high degree of learning and probity.¹ He died successively at Basle, and then again at Basle. His uncle appears to have been unsuccessful in attempts made by the Dominicans, at Basle, to induce him to join their order; which was contrary to his father's wishes.² During his second residence at Basle, he was a teacher to others, as well as a learner himself. From his earliest years he appears to have been the favorite of his masters, all of whom were rivaled alike with his genius, and with the promising dispositions which he displayed. After having gone through his course of theology under Wytttenbach, and taken the degree of master of arts, he was called to the pastoral charge of the town of Glaris, in the year 1506. His tutor Wytttenbach, it seems, used subsequently to regret having wasted so much precious time, both his own and that of his pupils, in the frivolous refinements of scholastic philosophy and divinity. Zwingle kindly told him, that it was useless now to regret it; it was the misfortune of the times; and that they might be thankful for having been delivered from it, and must caution others, but could not them-

He becomes pastor of Glaris. 1506.

Beausobre, Hist. de la Ref. i. 249.

Hess, Life of Zwingle, from Bullinger. Beausobre, 49.

selves undo what was past. At Glaris he spent ten years : and during that time, especially, acquired his preparation for all that he afterwards achieved. Here it pleased God gradually to open his eyes to the disorders and corruptions of the church. Becoming sensible, likewise, that the most obvious and most necessary step towards a just acquaintance with divine truth is the diligent study of the scriptures ; he, in order to that, resolved to apply himself to the original languages—for hitherto, it would seem, he was a proficient only in the Latin tongue. A most interesting manuscript still exists in the library of Zurich,—a copy of all S. Paul's Epistles, in the original Greek, with numerous annotations from the principal fathers, which Zwingli wrote out with his own hand, and then committed entire to memory.¹ He afterwards pursued the same course with respect to the other books of the New Testament. His friend Oswald Myconius, in his brief narrative concerning him, beautifully describes the devout conduct of his studies at this time. “ After he had learned from Peter, that scripture is not of private interpretation, he directed his eyes upward to heaven, seeking the Spirit for his teacher ; supplicating, in earnest prayer, to be taught in what manner best to search out the sense of the divine mind.” He did not, however, confine himself to the inspired writers, or to authors approved by the church : he read the works of Ratramn, or Bertram, who taught the primitive doctrine of the sacrament, to the exclusion of transubstantiation ; and those also of Wycliffe and

¹ “ At the end is written an inscription in the Greek tongue, signifying, *Copied by Ulric Zwingli, 1514.*” Coxe, Letter 9.

EARLY HISTORY OF ZWINGLE.

of Huss.¹ Referring to the close period, he afterwards says, "I began to preach the gospel in the year 1516, when the name of Luther had never been heard in these parts:" thus "counting for nothing," observes Ruchat, "the labours of the preceding years, because during them he had preached human traditions, and not the word of God."

But the passage, from which this citation from the reformer concerning himself is made, presents such a picture of his mind, and also shews so much on what grounds, and in what way he claimed priority, or rather independence, of Luther, that the substance of it may well deserve to be transcribed. It occurs in a work which he published in the year 1523. He says, "As I have happened to mention Luther, that most valiant and able servant of God, I will here introduce some observations which I have to make concerning him. It is not long since the great and mighty men of this world have begun to persecute the doctrine of Christ under the name of Luther; and not only to persecute it, but to endeavour to render it obnoxious; giving the name of *Lutheran* to every thing truly Christian, whoever may promulgate it: so that, even if a man who had never read the writings of Luther should preach the word of God purely and sincerely, he must immediately be stigmatized as a Lutheran. I myself have experienced this treatment. I began to preach the gospel in the year 1516, at a time when the name of Luther had never been heard in these parts. My manner of preaching was this, while the mass was yet in use: I expounded to the people the

¹ Hess, from J. J. Hottinger. Myconius de vit. Zuing. Ruchat, i. 4—6. Gerd. i. 101, 102.

gospel which was read in the service of the mass : I expounded it, I say, not from the comments and figments of men, but solely by comparing scripture with scripture. At that time I was much addicted to the early doctors of the church, as more clear and pure than the moderns ; though some things in them did not satisfy me. In 1519, when I had removed to Zurich, I told the venerable the provost, and the other members of the chapter, that I would publicly explain the gospel of S. Matthew, still drawing my exposition not from human sources, but from scripture itself. In the beginning of that year, no one among us had heard any thing of Luther beyond this, that he had published against indulgences : on which subject he could not instruct me, as I had already learned under Dr. Wyttenbach that indulgences were nothing but vanity and imposture. Who then does not see that Luther's writings afforded me no assistance in my expositions of S. Matthew, which, to my astonishment, were attended by crowds of persons desirous of knowing the truth ? I appeal even to you, ye enemies of the doctrine of Christ, whether any one at that period attempted to reproach me as a Lutheran ? Why moreover did the Roman cardinals, who were then on an embassy at Zurich, and who attempted to corrupt me with Italian gold, never call me a Lutheran till after they had pronounced Luther a heretic—which they could never prove him to be ? I say these things, and appeal to all the circumstances and proofs, to shew the audacity and insolence of certain great men, (made great from a very mean condition,) who attempt to stop and turn aside, by the name of Lutheranism, those who preach the

A. D.
1516.

gospel of Christ. . . . I began to preach the gospel before I ever heard the name of Luther. And, in order that I might do so, I ten years before¹ applied myself to the study of Greek, that I might draw the doctrine of Christ from the original source. What success I have had, I leave it to others to judge: but certainly Luther gave me no assistance, for I was ignorant of his very name when I learned to place all my reliance exclusively on the sacred scriptures. Luther, as far as I can judge, is a most gallant soldier of Jesus Christ, who studies the word of God with a zeal and diligence which have had no parallel for this thousand years. I care not if the court of Rome now pronounce me a heretic along with him. I say there has been no one (though I would not depreciate others,) who has attacked the pope with such a determined and undaunted spirit, since the popedom had an existence. But to whom is this noble proceeding of his to be ascribed? Is it from Luther or from God? Ask Luther himself. I know he will say it is from God. Why then do you ascribe other men's doctrines to Luther, when Luther himself ascribes his doctrine to God? Luther introduces no novelty: he only brings forth freely what is treasured up in the immutable and eternal word of God; pointing out and displaying the heavenly treasure to Christians who have been led to seek it from wrong sources. Nor does he heed what the enemies of God may attempt against it; or with what eyes they may look upon him, or how they may threaten him. Yet, all this notwithstanding, I do not choose to bear the name of Luther;

¹ Or ten years ago: "ante decem annos." In the one case in 1506, in the other not till 1513.

whose writings I have very little read : nay, I have often abstained from reading them, that I might not excite the prejudice of the papists.¹ Those of his works which I have read (I speak of his doctrines and sentiments, generally, for with his particular contentions I have nothing to do,) are sound, and founded on the word of God, so that no creature can overthrow them. I am not ignorant that he still allows many things to the weak, where he might do otherwise : for instance, I hear that he attributes some value to auricular confession : and in these things I do not subscribe to his sentiments.

“ In the first place, then, they have condemned the brave soldier of Jesus Christ, Martin Luther; and then, in the next, they attach his name to those to whom it does not belong, that thus they may represent Christ’s doctrine as sectarian and heretical. But suffer not, Christians, that the name of a man should be given to you : neither do you give it to others. Let not any one ask his neighbour whether he is a Lutheran, but, what he thinks of the doctrine of Christ ; whether he delights in the word of God ; whether he is a Christian ; that is, whether he is constantly working good towards God and his neighbour Luther did not die for us : he only points out to us Him from whom cometh all salvation.

“ I will not allow therefore that the papists should call me a Lutheran, for I learned not the

¹ Zwingle’s conduct with respect to the writings of Luther is stated to have been as follows : having sufficiently ascertained the nature of their contents, he recommended them to his people, but purposely abstained from reading them himself, for the reasons here assigned, and for that very important one with which he concludes the passage here recited. Myconius de vil. Zuing. p. 4. Gerdes, i. 105-6.

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doctrine of Christ from Luther, but from word of God. If Luther preaches Christ, as does what I also do. Although by his instrumentality (thanks be to God!) innumerable persons, and more than by mine, may have been led to Christ, yet I will bear no other name than that of Christ, my only leader, whose soldier I am. He shall assign me my service and my reward, as seemeth him good.

"All then, I think, may now understand why I am unwilling to be called a Lutheran, though no man esteems Luther more highly than I do. I will say also, that I never wrote a line to Luther, directly or indirectly; nor he to me. And why have I not? Certainly not for the fear of any man: *but that it might appear to all men how consistent and uniform is the Spirit of God, when we two, placed at such a distance from each other, and holding no intercourse together, write and teach the doctrine of Christ in such perfect harmony. I compare not myself to Luther:*¹ every one has what the Lord gives him: each one achieves that to which God leads him on."²

We here at once feel ourselves to be in the company of a hero. Bold in asserting what he knows to be true and right, as respected himself, and in exposing the artifices of the enemies of divine truth, he is yet ready to do ample justice to the merits and services of his great compeer. It is moreover eminently as a *Christian* hero that he is here exhibited to us; referring all that is accomplished, either by himself or by others, to God who "worketh all and in all." No one can mistake the ground

Remarks.

¹ Rather perhaps, "I put not myself on an equality with Luther." *Non me comparo Luthero.*

² Zwinglii *lxxvii* Artic. Op. i. fo. 37, 38.

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XIV.

on which he so resolutely disclaims the name of Lutheran. It is from no petty jealousy of Luther, nor from any fear of the cross: the testimony which he thus publicly bears to that reformer, and the defiance which he holds out to the court of Rome and all other enemies, place him above every such suspicion: but he will not voluntarily consent to that, which would call into action a violent and unreasonable prejudice, and cause the doctrine of Christ to be rejected without examination. But how lamentable is it, that, so soon after this fine passage was written, Satan should have been permitted to sow the seeds of discord between these illustrious brethren, which led them subsequently to speak and write so differently of one another.

Independ-
ence of the
two re-
formers,
and
question of
priority
between
them.

Dr. Milner has introduced part of the above-cited passage in discussing the question of the priority of Luther or Zwingli, as a reformer. Their *independence* one of the other it must be allowed to establish; which is the point of much the greatest importance, not only as it may concern their honour, (for which we ought not to indulge too much jealousy,) but especially for the purpose insisted upon by Zwingli himself at the close of the passage,—leading us to admire the wonderful works of God in raising such mighty instruments of his grace to coöperate, without mutual communication; and “the consistency and uniformity of his Spirit,” in leading them “to teach the doctrine of Christ in perfect harmony,” the one with the other. With respect to the question of *priority* between them, it appears to me that those, who would deprive Luther of the honour of taking the lead in the great work of reformation, do not properly

**distinguished between knowing and even teach-
ing well, which is a comparatively easy work,
and publicly raising the standard against
reigning error, so as to draw general attention
and commence a revolution. In the latter
way Zwingli might perhaps surpass Luther,
in the latter Luther certainly took the lead
of Zwingli. Both of them had the knowledge
of divine truth—of the doctrine of justification,
in particular—before the year 1517; in 1518
Zwingli preached the gospel at Glarus, and
Luther, I apprehend, unquestionably taught it
in his lectures at Wittenberg; for some time,
I conceive, Zwingli had the advantage in point
of knowledge,³ and perhaps he had done more.**

Such also I find to be the judgment of Barlaamites whose authority will be acknowledged to stand very high upon every such question. "We ought perhaps to distinguish," he says, "between the teaching and explanation of the gospel, which, though rare at that time, was not without example, (as the case of Erasmus, and before him that of Wesselus shews,) and the open avowal of heresies and abuses. In the latter Luther took the part of Ananias though Zwingle previously pronounced his condemnation knowledge of the gospel and did not conceal from it knew." Dr Luth. ... The ... of the gospel ... of original error ... of ... but one ... Lutheran church ... — ...

to disseminate it previously to the month of September, 1517, than Luther had done: particularly he seems *from the first* to have laid a broader basis for reformation, in the doctrine of the sole-sufficiency and exclusive authority of the holy scriptures, than Luther did in his protest against indulgences:¹ but at the era just mentioned Luther blew the blast which resounded throughout Christendom, when Zwingle's sentiments had been little heard of beyond the immediate sphere of his own labours; and thus he caused the astonished world so firmly to affix the name of Lutheran to the new doctrine, whether taught by Luther in Germany or by Zwingle in Switzerland, that for many years after no other distinctive appellation could obtain any currency.²

Such is the impression which has been made on my mind by all that has fallen in my way, bearing upon this question, in addition to what Dr. Milner has collected concerning it.³

Zwingle's
preaching
at Glaris.

But, though Zwingle "began to preach the gospel in 1516," we must not suppose that he as yet went all the length of the noble passage which we have quoted from him, written in 1523. Myconius himself gives us the following account of his mode of proceeding at Glaris. "He so taught the grace of the gospel as to make little or no mention of the

¹ Ibid. 121, 129, 264, 285.

² Thus the bishop of Lausanne applies the term "Lutheran" to the Swiss reformation as late as the year 1528; and the council of Rapperswyl does the same in 1531. Ruchat, ii. 326. iii. 354. Many other instances occur.

³ Milner, v. 534—539. (1135—1140.) To one document, the pope's brief to Zwingle in 1523, which Dr. Milner considers as "a decisive testimony," it will hereafter be seen that I can attach no such importance.

EARLY HISTORY OF ZWINGLE.

ness of the Romish church. He wished that truth, being received into the hearts of men, should there perform its office: for, when the truth is perceived, falsehood is easily detected. The times did not allow of a prudent procedure: for, amid such perverseness and malignity as prevailed, the truth would have been utterly lost before the abuse of religion could have been corrected."¹ In ordinary circumstances the course here prescribed, of preaching the truth, and leaving men to fall before it, without a direct attack, may be allowable, or even, to a certain extent, advisable: but not where enormous errors, both doctrinal and practical, like those of the church of Rome, were in full possession of the field. Luther entered into no such calculations. Myconius here suggests, and he succeeded. And indeed, only a short time afterwards we shall find Zwingli himself adopting a different course, and exhorting others to do the same. His early caution, however, entirely commends itself to the approbation of Beausobre, who urges us to make the reformer labour to correct the *manners* of his hearers, as a step previously requisite to instructing them in the *truths* of the gospel, instead of preaching the gospel to them as the divinely appointed means of delivering them from their vices.² Indeed, if I understand Myconius aright, who records this conduct on which we are commenting, he does not mean to justify it. He seems rather to recount what had been the early reasonings of his friend, than what were his own present sentiments.

Though, however, Zwingli was rather pre-

¹ In vit. Zuing. p. 3.

² Hist. de la Ref. i. 252.

paring to be a reformer, than had actually become such, during his residence at Glaris, his ministrations there were doubtless very useful; and they proved the means of raising up some persons who afterwards became serviceable to the reformation. Among these Fridolin Brunner, and Valentine, Peter, and Giles Tschudi are particularly mentioned. Here also he attached to him Henry Lorit, an accomplished scholar, better known by the name of Glareanus, which he derived from his native canton. For some years this person appeared to take a lively interest in the progress of reform: but he was of the school of Erasmus; was inflated with the vanity of learning, and the ambition of poetic celebrity; and, when reproach was to be incurred, he abandoned the party of the reformers—I fear we must conclude with Ruchat, “having loved this present world.”¹

During Zwingle's residence at Glaris, he, in the years 1513 and 1515, according to the custom of the Swiss, accompanied the troops which marched into Italy, to assist the pope and the emperor against the French, in the wars of Milan. On the former of these occasions he witnessed a signal victory of his countrymen, and on the latter a great disaster at the famous battle of Marignano. Here he at least attempted to render important services, and himself received considerable honours: but he obtained such views of the consequences of the practice adopted by the Swiss, of letting out their troops to the different parties in quarrels which belonged not to them, as decided his own future conduct, and

¹ Ruchat, i. 7, 8. Gerdes, i. 102-3. ii. 248. et Docum. p. 151. Œc. et Zuing. Epist. 189.

through his means produced a renunciation of the practice on the part of some of the cantons.¹

A. D.
1518.

Abbey of Einsiedeln.

It was soon after his return from his second Italian expedition, that Zwingli received an invitation which removed him to a new and somewhat extraordinary scene of labour. In the canton of Schwytz there exists a rich and magnificent foundation of the Benedictines, which was then, and is even to the present day, the grand resort of superstition in Switzerland. This is the abbey of Einsiedeln, or of "our Lady of the Hermitage." It may be called, says Rochat, "the Ephesian Diana," or "the Loretto of Switzerland." It is asserted that when, about the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, the bishops of Constance, the abbot of St. Gallen, and other dignitaries, were about to consecrate this convent, they were forbidden to proceed by a supernatural voice, declaring that God himself had already consecrated it, or, in other terms, of the same sign &c. thus the Redeemer, mounted by a choir of angels, fathers, and martyrs, and performed the service in person, "according to the rites of the Roman church," and as a proof of the fact, and set the point of the fingers of his right hand miraculously impressed upon a stone. This stone continued to be the object of veneration till the year 1592, when a part of the chapel was destroyed. In commemoration of the extraordinary event thus recorded, a festival styled "the angels' consecration," was observed once a year, till the time when Lutheranism had gained the place about fifty years ago, and introduced a

observed to the present day. The great object of attraction, however, was and is a miraculous image of the Virgin, by which unnumbered cures are said to be performed, and to which in consequence, crowds of pilgrims resort from all quarters, to pay their devotions and present their offerings, and to receive that "full remission of all their sins, both guilt and punishment," which an inscription, supported by the figure of an angel, assures them is thus to be found. Dr. Coxe tells us that he himself saw "several hundreds, in groups of different numbers," approach the place, and that some of them "consisted of a whole parish, attended by their spiritual pastor." "It is computed," he says, "that, upon the most moderate calculation, their number amounts yearly to hundred thousand."¹ Such is popery, even to the present hour, where it is predominant and that in a free country, surrounded by an enlightened population, and within sight of protestant establishments!

The Administrator
and the
Abbot.

The administrator of the abbey, the guardian I presume of its temporalities, at this time was Theobald baron Geroldseck, and the abbot (by office a prince of the empire,) Conrad of Rechenberg. The former was a zealous patron of men of learning and piety; and the latter a man averse to superstition; who had so little opinion of the sacrifice of the mass, that, when urged by the visitors of the convent to celebrate it, he replied, "If Jesus Christ is really present in the host, I am unworthy to look upon him much less to offer him in sacrifice to the Father: and, if he is not there present, what can I do unto me if I present bread to the people as

¹ Coxe, Letter 7. Hess, 50—55.

the object of their worship, instead of God! These distinguished persons, influenced by the force of Zwingli's zeal and learning, invited him to accept the office of minister of the city church.² Zwingli did not hesitate to accept the call, as it presented to him the prospect of extended usefulness among the multitudes of persons who visited the place from all parts, and at the same time would afford him peculiar advantages for prosecuting his studies, by the aid of the library, and in conjunction with the learned inmates of the house. Accordingly he removed thither in the autumn of the year 1516; to the great regret of the citizens of Glaris, who insisted on his continuing to draw his accustomed salary from them for two years, in the hope that he might be induced to return.³

A. D.
1516.
Zwingli
became
minister of
the city
church.

The fame of Zwingli, and the character of the administrator, drew a number of learned men

Einsidlin. Zwingli contracted an intimate friendship with Francis Zingg, Michael Stauder, and John Oechsli. The first of these was a chaplain of the apostolic see, and a man of great learning and piety. The last of the three afterwards suffered severe persecution in the cause of the reformation. These persons united with Zwingli in the diligent study of the learned languages, and of the fathers, whose works were then in the course of publication at Basle. Of the writings of Kiccardus,

His
associates,

Capnio, the reviver of Hebrew literature, and of Erasmus.⁴ He kept up also a regular

correspondence.

¹ Schuler. See from Bulinger.

² "A magnificent magnificent building." (1516)

³ Nicodemus. (1516) - (1516) - (1516)

⁴ Nicodemus. (1516) - (1516) - (1516)
Zwingli: associate of Einsidlin. See also above.

correspondence with Wolfgang Fabricius Capito (then of Basle,) and Caspar Hedio—men whose names are famous in the history of the reformation; as well as with Erasmus, Beatus Rhenanus, Glareanus, John Faber, grand vicar of the bishop of Constance, and many others. The letters of these learned men are full of commendations of his knowledge, and of the services which he rendered to the church. They bear unequivocal testimony, therefore, to the general estimation which he had been able to conciliate, and to the hopes which were entertained from him:¹ though they would have led us to suspect that he had not yet so far committed himself, as the facts about to be recorded shew him to have done during his residence at Einsidlin. But suspicion was not yet fully awake; and men, whose talents and character supported them, might as yet go further, without exciting alarm, than after a revolt had actually taken place. The politic court of Rome would allow considerable latitude to eminent men, provided they still recognized its supremacy.

His preach-
ing at
Einsidlin.

Striking accounts are given of Zwingle's preaching in his present extraordinary situa-

makes his curate there. But it would seem that Leo *succeeded*, and not *assisted*, Zwingle in the church of the abbey. Gerd. i. 107. Beausobre, i. 260 (*b*).

¹ Hess, from J. J. Hottinger. J. H. Hottinger, vi. 244, &c. dwells largely on the renown of Zwingle, and the eulogiums bestowed upon him from all quarters.—The first of the correspondents above mentioned (Capito) writes to Bullinger: "Before Luther had emerged into the light, Zwingle and I held communications together, even while my friend lived at the Hermitage, (Einsidlin,) concerning casting the pope down from his eminence." Gerd. i. 103. Still this was only contemplation, not action.

A. D.
1516.

tion, and of the degree of reform which, supported by the administrator, he was enabled to introduce. He taught his audience "to seek the pardon of their sins, not from the blessed Virgin, but in the merit and intercession of Jesus Christ." He proclaimed to the multitudes of pilgrims, selecting especially for that purpose the festival of the consecration, "that little account was to be made of indulgences, pilgrimages, vows, and offerings presented to the patroness of the Hermitage; that the grace of God was equally attainable in one place as in another; and that he was as ready to hear prayer at their own homes as at Einsidlin; that the honours rendered there and elsewhere to the Virgin were derogatory to the honour of God; that there was no such place as purgatory; and that the merit of the monastic life was nothing but a vain imagination."¹ A modern writer, who has exhibited perhaps a somewhat embellished representation of the reformer's discourses to this effect, thus describes the impression made by them. "Language so unexpected produced impressions difficult to describe. Admiration and indignation were painted alternately on every face while Zwingli was speaking; and, when at length the orator had concluded his discourse, a confused murmur betrayed the deep emotions he had excited. Their expression was restrained at first by the holiness of the place; but, as soon as they could be freely vented, some, guided by prejudice or personal interest, declared themselves against this new doctrine: others felt a fresh light breaking in upon them, and applauded what they

¹ Rachat, i. 41—43.

CHAP.
XIV.

Its effects.

had heard with transport.¹” The description is sufficiently probable ; but, whether it be fully borne out or not, the following facts are established by the records of the times. Some of the pilgrims were seen to return, and carry back with them the tapers and offerings which they had brought to present to the Virgin ; and, though this must necessarily have excited the resentment of the monks, by making them apprehend the diminution of their revenues, Zwingle appears to have lost no ground with his superiors ; on the contrary, he so completely carried the administrator, and it would seem the abbot also along with him, as to procure the removal of the offensive tablet (long since restored,) which promised plenary remission of sins to those who visited the shrine ; and to lead them to bury the relics of certain saints, and so far to reform a neighbouring nunnery dependent on the abbey, as to dispense with the repetition of the canonical hours by the inhabitants, and to recommend to them, in lieu of it, the reading of the scriptures translated into the German language. Nay, such of them as did not feel in themselves a call to a devoted life were even allowed to enter again into the world, and to contract marriage.²

His communications with Cardinal Schinner,

About the same time, Zwingle had the opportunity of conversing, at Einsidlin, with the celebrated Matthew Schinner, cardinal of Sion,

¹ Hess, 61—66. This author, I perceive, draws his report of Zwingle’s discourses from one which he published, and dedicated to his brothers, in 1522, on “the Virgin Mary, the mother of our Redeemer Jesus Christ.” But whether that discourse was really of an earlier date, and had been delivered at Einsidlin, I have not discovered. Zuing. Op. i. fo. 340—351, particularly 349 (a).

² Hess, from Bullinger and J. J. Hottinger. Ru. i. 43, 44.

EARLY HISTORY OF ZWINGLE.

e Vallais;) and he availed himself of it sly to impress upon his consideration the of human traditions, and of the whole of external observances which were mis- for piety and holiness; averring that, evil were not remedied, religion must go to ruin. He exhorted him to use most efforts to ward off so fatal an event, and excite the other dignitaries, who had the direction of the affairs of the church, to do so fully and earnestly to undertake the work of reformation. The cardinal professed to conform to his views, and promised to do all in his power to promote the desired object: whether from loss of influence or from want of inclination, he went not beyond the same fair words.¹ Zwingle, as was the case with Luther for some time, had not yet decided that the whole system of the church of Rome was corrupt, and founded on corruption; that it does not therefore admit of reformation. The only resource is, "Come out ye, my people, that ye be not partakers of their sins, and that ye receive not of their plagues."

He spoke to the same purport to the succeeding papal legates, Ennius and Pucci;² and secured the support of his diocesan, Hugh de Montherberg, bishop of Constance, in the course of which he should deem it incumbent on him to do so. He told him, that he himself, and the divines who had had the happiness to discover the truth, felt themselves in conscience bound to proclaim it, and to oppose errors, and to assail abuses.³

and with
the Pope's
legates.

Eng. Op. i. 230. Ru. i. 41, 42. Hess, 67.
chat, i. 15, 17. Gerd. i. 263.
chat, i. 54, 55.

CHAP.
XIV.

He receives
a diploma
from the
Pope. 1518.

Subsequent
history of
the abbot,
Rechen-
berg.

Still, however, he had not drawn upon himself the displeasure of the see of Rome. On the contrary, we find at this time a proof of the estimation in which he was held, in a diploma sent him by Leo X. through the legate Pucci, constituting him a chaplain acolothist of the holy see.¹ Nor was it till two years afterwards that he voluntarily renounced his pensions from Rome, feeling that he could no longer innocently retain them.

Before taking leave of Einsidlin, it may be satisfactory to the reader to be informed of the subsequent history of the abbot and the administrator. The former died in the year 1526, after having banished almost all superstitious observances from his abbey. Indeed, he had only two monks remaining attached to it. A little time before his death, when Leo Jude, the successor of Zwingle in the abbey church, was disputing in his presence with a monk on some abstruse points, he feelingly and piously observed, "What does all this signify? For my part, I wish with my last breath to cry with David, *Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness! Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord!* I concern myself about nothing else." It is

¹ J. H. Hottinger gives the diploma at length, which is sufficiently eulogistic. Hist. Eccl. vi. 274—277. I have felt somewhat embarrassed between the date of this instrument, and the description which it gives of Zwingle's situation. It is dated in September, 1518, three months only before Zwingle removed from Einsidlin to Zurich: yet it describes him as rector of Glaris, without mentioning Einsidlin. We have seen that he was allowed to draw his stipend from Glaris for two years: and I apprehend that he was considered as still retaining his benefice there; for at the expiration of the two years, Ruchat says, "He resigned entirely and for ever *the church* of Glaris." i. 58.

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scarcely necessary to add, that on the day of death he dispensed with all the rites of the Romish church. The Baron Geroldseck was one of those who fell with Zwingle in the battle of Cappel, October 11, 1531. In 1532 Zwingle dedicated to him his Essay on the canon of the mass, and took that occasion of affectionately acknowledging "his paternal kindness," and of praising his constancy in the cause of religion. He had not been long, he says, "who, having put his hand to the plough, had looked back. No storm of adversity had ever availed in the least to turn him aside; which must be considered as an argument of his unfeigned faith." It is delightful to read such testimonies of men occupying such stations, and brought up as they must have been. Beausobre says that Geroldseck was compelled to resign his office, on account of his patronage of the reformation; which it was likely should be the case, considering the situation of the abbey, in a zealously popish canton; though I have not found the fact elsewhere recorded.¹

During the residence of Zwingle at Einsidlin, he had become advantageously known to several persons of consideration at Zurich, either by their being attracted to become his occasional hearers, or by his visits to their city. In consequence, when a vacancy occurred in the office of pastor of the principal, or cathedral, church; a wish prevailed that he should be invited to accept the charge. Among those who zealously promoted this object was Oswald Myconius, master of the public school at Zurich, and in high esteem there for his piety,

Zwingle
removes to
Zurich. 1518.

¹ Ru. i. 401. iii. 426. Gerd. ii. 335. Zuing. Op. i. 176 (b). Beausobre, i. 261.

learning, and intelligence. In a considerable degree through his influence, the chapter offered the vacant situation to Zwingle, who, after proper deliberation, resolved to accept it; though its emoluments were less than those of which he was already in possession. Indeed, on that subject he declined to stipulate for any terms whatever.¹ It opened to him, he conceived, the prospect of greater and more permanent usefulness, than he could calculate upon in a station where every thing might seem to depend upon the lives, and the continued favour, of two individuals, the administrator and the abbot. "It could scarcely be," he said to himself, "but that, if the grace of Christ were preached and received in so celebrated a city as Zurich, the rest of Switzerland should follow the example." This was his one object; and he would allow himself to look to no other. He quitted Einsidlin, therefore, though with much sacrifice of feeling both to himself and to those whom he was leaving, and removed to Zurich in the month of December, 1518; and in this case, as in that of his removal from Glaris, the most honourable testimony was borne to him by the authorities under which he had lived;—the landamman, or first magistrate, and the council of Schweitz addressing to him a letter expressive of regret for the loss which their country sustained by his departure, though they trusted it would prove to his advantage.²

¹ "Non petiturum ab eis quicquam." Myconius. Mel. Ad. i. 13.

² Ruchat, i. 55—57. Gerd. i. 106. Neither on occasion of his removal from Glaris or from Einsidlin, has Zwingle escaped the senseless and malignant calumnies of the monks, as if he had been driven from his successive stations in

A great degree of ignorance and corruption of manners, both among the clergy and the laity, appear to have prevailed at that time at Zurich. "Letters wanted a restorer; both the governors and the governed an intrepid censor, who should dare to recal them to their respective duties; and fainting religion a minister capable of rekindling its ardor, and restoring its influence upon manners."¹ And all this Zwingli was well qualified to become.

A. D.
1518.

State of
Zurich.

A few days after his settlement there, he was called to meet the chapter. When the mutual civilities, and the ceremonies of the occasion, had passed, he undertook to explain to them the plan of public instruction which he intended to adopt; of which we have already heard some hints from his own pen. Instead of confining himself, as was customary, to a meagre explanation of the gospel or epistle of the day, passages which constantly recurred from year to year, and thus limiting the acquaintance of the people with the scriptures to a few detached portions, he proposed, in the first place, to expound and apply the whole of the evangelical history, beginning with the gospel of S. Matthew, and that "not from human traditions," as he said, "but according to the mind of the Spirit, which he did not doubt that, by means of earnest prayer to God, and diligently comparing scripture with scripture, he should be able to discover." And all this, he trusted, "would tend to advance the glory of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and to promote the salvation of

His plan of
preaching
there :

disgrace. I have not thought the charges worth retailing; content with recording the facts which refute them, and shew the esteem in which he was held. See Ruchat i. 10, and 56-7.

¹ Hess, 73--84.

souls, and the edification of the people in the true Christian faith." Though some of the canons heard his proposals with pleasure, others objected to the plan as an innovation. But to the latter he shewed, from the sermons and homilies of S. Chrysostom and S. Augustine, that it was no other than a return to the ancient practice of the church, and that the custom which had superseded it was of no older date than the time of Charlemagne. Accordingly he proceeded to execute his design, and preached his first sermon on Christmas-day, 1518.¹ His new and spirited style of preaching drew constantly a crowded audience to the church, and made a strong impression on their minds. Some, as might have been expected, took offence at the manner in which, while he set forth the truths of the gospel, he exposed superstition and hypocrisy; thundered against the reigning vices of the times—idleness, intemperance, and oppression of the poor; and thus disturbed the consciences of many, and swept away the "refuges of lies" in which they had reposed.² Others blessed God for sending them such a preacher, who, as they simply but forcibly expressed it, told them "things as they really were." On the ground of his opposition to indulgences, (of which we shall shortly have to give a more particular account,) he had at this time the countenance and support of John Faber, already mentioned as the grand vicar of the bishop of Constance,—within whose diocese Zurich, as

¹ Myconius. Melch. Adam says, Jan. 1, 1519, his birth-day.

² Myconius observes: "He carried with him such authority in reproving sin and sinners, as I never witnessed in any other man."

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1519.

all as Einsidlin, lay. Faber assured him that the bishop was determined no longer to endure the pride and insolence of the pope. But, if that prelate had ever done more than express such a sentiment in a moment of irritation, he did not long retain it, and it had no practical results: for Zwingle's repeated and urgent solicitations could never induce him to take the step towards the reformation of the church. The zealous and indefatigable labours of the former, however, were attended with the most encouraging success at Zurich. At the expiration of a year, notwithstanding much formidable opposition,¹ he was able to reckon as many as two thousand persons who were, far, at least, his converts, as to avow his sentiments.²

and its
effects.

The reader will not be unwilling to peruse this great man's account of his own proceedings as a preacher at Zurich, written in the year 1523. "It is now four years ago that I reached through the whole gospel of Matthew . . . I then proceeded to the Acts of the apostles, that the church of Zurich might see in what manner, and by what persons, the gospel was at first propagated in the world. Next followed the first Epistle of Paul to Timothy; which, as exhibiting the rules of the conduct that becomes Christians, seemed admirably calculated to form a consistent and well-ordered flock. As some now appeared not to be sound in the faith, I deferred the

His own
account.

¹ On account of the exposure of the abuses of the church, and of the sins of the people, "there passed not an hour in which there were not dangerous consultations, of both the priests and the profane, against the assertors of truth and holiness." Mycon.

² Ruchat, i. 57, 62, 66, 71. Gerdes, i. 106, 263.

second Epistle to Timothy till I had gone through that to the Galatians; and then I explained *it* also. Some pretenders to wisdom then began impiously to say, ‘Who, after all, is Paul? is he not a man like ourselves? Though he might be an apostle, he was but of an inferior order,—not one of those who personally conversed with Christ. Aquinas or Scotus is more to be relied on than he.’ Such being the case, I next brought forward the two Epistles of Peter, the chief of the apostles, that they might clearly see whether one spirit did not animate both him and Paul, and whether both did not speak the same things. I have since entered upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, that the people might more fully understand the benefits and the glory of Christ. Hence they will learn, and indeed have in some degree learned, that he is the great High Priest; . . . and that he, by his *one offering*¹ of himself, once offered, *hath for ever perfected them that are sanctified*.—Such are the things which we have *planted*: Matthew, Luke, Paul, Peter have *watered* them; and God hath given a wondrous *increase*,—which *I* will not be the person to proclaim, lest I should seem to seek my own glory, and not that of Christ.

“Go now and say, if you can, that this plantation is not of our heavenly Father’s planting.—Thus, by no cunningly devised modes of address, but in the use of simple words of our own country’s native growth, I have led the people to the knowledge of their disease—following our Lord’s example, who commenced from this point. I have withdrawn no man from connexion with his proper pastor, provided he were

¹ “Hostia,” the word for *the host*.

EARLY HISTORY OF ZWINGLE.

rue pastor, and not a thief and a rob-
 man what source I derived the *discipline* of
 arch, I have already shewn.¹ I have ear-
 tly exhorted the people to hold fast the glory
 our profession²; *having a great High-
 est, Jesus the Son of God, who is passed
 the heavens*; and not to *seek honour one
 another*—a practice which led away the Jews
 in faith in Christ.³ As much as in me lieth,
 withdraw men from confidence in any crea-
 re, to the only true God, and Jesus Christ,
 only Son, our Lord; in whom *whosoever
 liveth shall never die*. With all the earnest-
 of which I am capable, I urge them to seek
 don from him, who invites us to turn to
 even when we have sinned, saying, *Come
 p me, all ye that labour and are heavy-laden,
 I will give you rest*. This word of his I
 firmly believe, that, should circumstances
 ure,⁴ I think I have no need of either
 op or priest to make satisfaction for me:
 Christ hath done that, who *gave himself
 offering for us, and hath washed us from
 sins in his own blood*. I reverence the
 le order of presbyters (or priests) as the
 els (or messengers) of God: but I abhor
 e whose God is their belly. I bear, how-
 r, even with these, and suffer the tares to
 w among the wheat. I exhort men to
 y *without ceasing*; but to do it with the
 it and the heart; *in spirit and in truth*,
 our Lord's words are; and to persevere
 rein with an importunity which might seem

From the Epistles to Timothy.

He seems to combine τὸ καύχημα τῆς ἐλπίδος, Heb. iii. 6.

Heb. iv. 14.

³ John v.

Q^a. If he should die in circumstances in which he could
 give no ministerial assistance.

to be wearisome—according to the parable of the widow.”¹

Such a view of his ministry, and of the spirit in which it was conducted, must be gratifying to every pious reader: and we could not but expect a great blessing to rest upon it—as we have seen was actually the case.

His co-
adjutors.

In order more successfully to prosecute his work, which grew upon his hands, he engaged the assistance of two able and zealous persons, George Stéhelin and James Wisendanger, or Ceporinus. The former was a native of Schweitz, and had been curate of Baden, where he was distinguished for his zealous labour. The latter was a young man of the canton of Zurich, whom, on account of his skill in the learned languages, Zwingle had recommended to the council as a professor of Greek and Hebrew in an academical institution, which, at the reformer's suggestion, they had founded. Zwingle both to incite others, and to improve himself, did not scruple to attend Ceporinus's lectures. Indeed he all this time pursued his studies, as well of the ancient classic authors, as of sacred literature, with unwearied assiduity.²

¹ Zuing. in Archetele. Op. i. 132 (b).

² Ruchat, i. 71. Gerd. i. 264. Myconius mentions the following Greek authors as studied by him at this period: Homer, Aristotle, Plato, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Hesiod, Aristophanes, &c. The same biographer records his habits, and the distribution of his time. He constantly studied *standing*. From the time of rising in the morning till ten o'clock; he applied himself to reading, translating, writing, &c. After dinner he received those who came to him on business or for advice, or walked with his friends, till two o'clock; and then resumed his studies. After supper, he walked a short time; after which he devoted his hours to correspondence, sometimes till midnight. Frequently he was called upon to assist at the deliberations of the senate.

The fundamental point, which Zwingli had seen led every where to enforce, from the time that his eyes were first in any degree opened to discern the truth, was, the necessity of an undivided and unreserved adherence to the written word of God, as the only standard of truth and duty: the obligation to receive whatever it taught, and to reject whatever was not agreeable to its decisions. And so great was the impression which he had now made, that, in the course of his second year's residence at Zurich, the supreme council was induced to publish an edict, enjoining all incumbents, teachers, and persons having the cure of souls, to teach nothing which they could not prove from the sacred scriptures, and to pass over in silence the mere doctrines and ordinances of men.¹

A. D.
1526.Edict for
teaching
conform-
ably to the
Scriptures.

At this time his old master, Wyttenbach, who had been since the year 1515 the faithful pastor of Bienne, hearing of his labours and his success, wrote to him to congratulate and encourage him, and was himself the more emboldened to preach zealously against the errors of popery; which he continued to do to the end of his life.²

Wytten-
bach.

But it is time that we should advert to Zwingli's opposition to the general indulgence published by Leo X. The publication took place a year later in Switzerland than in Saxony: and, though it did not give the first occasion to Zwingli's reformation, as it did to

Publication
of Indul-
gences,

thus we see by what means great things have been accomplished—namely, by devotedness to a worthy object, and indefatigable diligence in pursuit of it. I hardly call it selfdenial, because to such minds their labours are their pleasure.

¹ Ru. i. 72. Gerd. i. 264.² Ru. 67, 128, 407.

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XIV.

by Samson.

His pro-
ceedings at
Berne.

that of Luther, yet it called forth his efforts in a more public manner, and no doubt greatly contributed to advance the objects which he had at heart. In the month of August, 1518, Bernardin Samson, a Franciscan of Milan, deputed by Christopher Forli, the general of his order, to whom the pope had given his commission, entered Switzerland, and there executed the service entrusted to him with as much effrontery, indecency, and extortion as the notorious Tetzels had practised in Germany. Zwingle was at that time stationed at Einsidlin, and it is against the imposture thus practised upon the Christian world that we must suppose those discourses, of which some specimen has been given, to have been specially directed. Through the opposition of our reformer, Samson had little success within the canton of Schwitz. He thence proceeded in succession to Zug, Lucerne, and Unterwalden, where he found a better market for his commodities. But it is of his proceedings at Berne that we have the most particular account. Wherever he went he took care to send emissaries before him, possessed of influence and address calculated to prepare his way. Through such means the reluctance which the citizens of Berne had at first manifested to receive him was overcome. He accordingly entered their town with a splendid retinue, under banners displaying jointly the arms of the pope and of the cantons; exhibited his letters of credence with great pomp in the cathedral church; and celebrated high mass, before a crowded assembly. He then produced for sale his bulls of indulgence, varying in price from a few pence to the sum of five hundred ducats, according to the benefits which they were to confer, and the

A. D.
1518.

circumstances of the purchasers. Some were applicable to individuals only, others extended to whole communities, and to those of past generations as well as of the present. On the last Sunday of his stay at Berne, he convoked the people to the cathedral by the ringing of the bells, and there, mounted upon an altar, in the midst of the assembly, caused the following extraordinary graces to be proclaimed by the mouth of one of the canons:¹ "1. That all persons present, who should confess their sins on their knees, and should repeat three paters and three aves, should, by virtue of the merit of Jesus Christ and all the saints, and through the power and grace (or favour) of the pope, receive absolution of all their sins, both guilt and punishment, and should be pure and clean from all sin, as they had been immediately after baptism. 2. That all those who should that day make the circuit of the church, and repeat one devout prayer, should deliver a soul, to be selected by themselves, out of purgatory." After the whole multitude had fallen on their knees, and recited five paters and as many aves, for the relief of the departed, he cried out, "Now all the souls of the Bernese, in whatever place or manner they may have died, are, altogether, and at the same moment, delivered, not only from the pains of purgatory, but from the torments of hell, and are raised to heaven."² Such were the

¹ His name was Henry Lupulus, or Woelflin. It is to be hoped he was not the person, or the son of the person, of the same name, who had been Zwingle's schoolmaster at Berne.

² It is to be remembered that only those who die not in mortal sin can be admitted to purgatory. Here, therefore, is the deliverance of the wicked and impenitent from eternal

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impious and shameless impositions which the emissaries of the Romish church were permitted, and even deputed, to practise upon the pitiable ignorance and credulity of its deluded votaries !¹

At Baden.

At Baden, Samson daily, after the celebration of mass, made a procession round the burial ground, chanting the office for the dead : at the end of which he cried aloud, *Ecce volant !* " See, they fly ! " meaning that, in virtue of his indulgences, the souls flew from purgatory to heaven. It is said that one of his hearers, to put that ridicule upon such a proceeding which it deserved, ascended the belfry of the church, taking a pillow with him, and thence, shaking out the feathers, repeated the words of the monk *Ecce volant !* " They fly ! they fly ! " The offence was thought to deserve the gibbet or the stake : but the offender was suffered to escape, on the plea that he wanted understanding ; though it may be doubted whether he did not display more than any other person concerned.²

Inhibited
by the
bishop of
Constance.
1519.

Here, however, the proceedings of the frontless monk were destined to receive a check ; and he was soon to be turned back, in merited disgrace, to the place whence he had come. He had now entered the diocese of the bishop of Constance, without asking his sanction, or exhibiting to him the authority under which he acted. These extraordinary indulgences of the pope were always offensive to the bishops, parish priests, and confessors, who regarded them as invading their rights, and

punishment, and not only that of good, but imperfect, men from purgatorial pains.

¹ Ru. i. 38—40, 44—50. Gerd. i. 79, 106, 122—124.

² Ru. i. 64. Gerd. i. 124.

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verting their dues into an unfair charge. The bishop therefore, availing himself of the respect which Samson had shewn him, issued an inhibition to all his clergy against receiving the intruder. Having also been informed of the zeal with which the chief pastor of Zurich had opposed the indulgences ever since they were brought into the country, he selected his vicar general, Faber, to write to him in his name, in terms expressive of kindness and esteem, exhorting him resolutely to prosecute what he had auspiciously begun, and promising him his support in so doing." Faber also himself spoke of Samson and his indulgences in the strongest terms of reprobation, as fitted only to make the church odious and contemptible.

Who
encouraged
Zwingli

Hence, when Samson presented himself at Bruggarten, his next stage, and only four leagues from Zurich, Henry Bullinger, rural dean of the place, and father of the illustrious reformer of the same name, though not yet himself emancipated from popish errors, refused to receive him, protesting that he would rather lose his life than suffer him to enter his church. Samson in great wrath, by virtue of the powers trusted to him, pronounced against him a sentence of excommunication, and proceeded immediately to carry his complaints to Zurich, where a general diet of the Swiss cantons was at that time assembled. But he found nothing to molest him there. The bishop of Constance sent deputies to represent his conduct to the diet: Bullinger, who set his excommunication at naught, appeared to answer his charges, or rather to lodge complaints against him: the council of Zurich forbade him to

Samson
repelled
from Brugg-
garten.

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XIV.

Put down
by the
Cantons.Returns
into Italy.

enter their city: and when, on his urging that he had business to bring before the diet on behalf of his master, the pope, he was suffered to appear, even the warmest partizans of the papacy were ashamed of him, and could attempt to save the honour of the sovereign pontiff only by abandoning his emissary, as having exceeded his commission. All that he could obtain from the diet was permission to retire unmolested, on condition of his revoking the excommunication of Bullinger: and this was followed by a formal application, on the part of the diet, to the pope to recall him; which was accompanied by a representation from the council of Zurich of his disgraceful conduct, as a justification of their own proceedings with respect to him. Though his Holiness replied but very coldly, and maintained that he only exercised his undoubted rights in publishing the indulgence, which "ought to be received with implicit confidence, according to the decisions of the church, and on pain of excommunication;" yet he added, that, if Samson had exceeded his commission in the manner described, he would punish him for his misconduct. Accordingly the wretched man, though he returned into Italy, did not venture to present himself at Rome—fearing probably, that, having now served the pope's turn, he might, by a policy well known to the Romish hierarchy, be sacrificed to appease the odium which the whole proceeding had excited. Leo was the third pope under whom Samson had been employed in these iniquitous exactions: and he is said to have sent into Italy chests of gold and silver plate out of Germany and Switzerland, and to have boasted that he had collected, by the sale

of indulgences, not less than eight hundred thousand crowns.¹

A. D.
1520.

Conduct of
the Bishop
of Con-
stance.

What was the result of any encouragement given to the reformation by the bishop of Constance has already been intimated: but the reader may wish to know how he extricated himself after being so far committed with Zwingle, and having his views so essentially promoted by him. The following information is from the reformer's own pen. "I failed not, with all reverence and humility, publicly and privately, by written addresses to urge him to countenance the light of the gospel, which he now saw bursting forth so that no human counsels could suppress it. But, from causes which I pretend not to assign, a change had taken place; and they, who had lately excited me by their reiterated exhortations, now deigned me no answer beyond mere public and official communications, which bore no more resemblance to those that had preceded them, than a mite does to an elephant."²

It was about this period, in the year 1520, that Zwingle renounced the pension which he had hitherto received from the pope, as a chaplain of the holy see. He himself thus notices the subject in an epistle, in which he two years afterwards inscribed a publication to his five brothers. "I acknowledge myself," he says, "prone to many sins: but, if of my adversaries charge me with avarice, bad faith, and with teaching false doctrine under the influence of bribes, do not them, though they assert it on oath: for there is no person to whom I am under any obligation for favours conferred on me. I

Zwingle
renounces
his pension
from the
pope.

¹ Ruchat, i. 40, 63—66. Gerdes, i. 122, 261-2.

² Zuing. Op. i. 230.

deny that formerly I received certain pensions from the pope : but these I have done with for some time past. I then thought it lawful and right to accept the pope's bounty, while it appeared to me a pious and holy thing to support his religion with all my powers. But, when my *knowledge of sin* (as S. Paul speaks,) increased, I soon bade a long farewell to the Roman pontiff and his gifts."¹ Like Luther, he had been conscientious in his attachment to the see of Rome ; and, even after he became sensible of the great corruptions which prevailed, it required time and further experience to convince him that it would be necessary to separate from the corrupt church altogether. It may be observed also that Luther's condemnation by the court of Rome, and Zwingle's renouncing his pension from the pope, occurred about the same time. The bull condemning Luther's writings was dated 15 June, 1520: he publicly burned it on the 10th of December—some time having probably elapsed between its date and its publication : and a further bull of excommunication was issued against him on the 6th of January, 1521. Zwingle on the 24th of July had written to Myconius, expressing his hope that an excommunication would not be issued against Luther, and his intention to use his influence with the pope's commissary to prevent it: but he says, " If it is issued, I anticipate that the pope and his excommunication will be alike despised by the Germans."²

Notice of
other Swiss
Reformers.

While such was the course of proceedings in the successive scenes of Zwingle's labours

¹ Zuing. Op. i. 341 (b). Ru. i. 75. Gerd. i. 265.

² Œc. et Z. Epist. 173 (b).

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1520.

in the three cantons of Glaris, Schweitz, and Zurich, the work of reformation was hopefully commencing in other parts of the Helvetic republic. Basle was the seat of a constellation of great men, who afterwards became distinguished as the restorers of the church. Leo Jude, Pellican, Capito, Œcolampadius, and Hedwig were all collected in that city. Vadian was found at S. Gallen, Myconius at Lucerne, Haller at Berne, the two Blaurers and Hoffmeister at Constance. A short notice of each of these persons, with all of whom we shall have to form an acquaintance as we proceed, may be advantageously introduced in this place.

Leo Jude is mentioned as a person of diminutive stature, but of an heroic mind:¹ and it was said of him, that whatever constitutes a good man was not only found, but abounded in him. He was of a family of rank in Alsace: was born in the year 1482, and received his education at Schlestadt. In 1505 he removed to Basle, and placed himself under Wyttenbach. Here he commenced a friendship with Zwingle, his fellow-pupil, which continued uninterrupted till the death of the latter. He was first called to a pastoral charge in his own province; but soon returned to Basle for the more advantageous prosecution of his studies, and there received an appointment as a preacher in the church of S. Theodore. He removed ~~thence~~ to succeed Zwingle at Einsidlin in 1516, and remained at that place till 1523, when he prevailed on him to join him in his labours at Zurich, and to accept the charge of St. Andrew's church. While at Einsidlin, besides a

Leo Jude.

¹ "Teucro minor, sed Ajace fortior." *Zurich*

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XIV.

application to general learning, and earnest preaching of the gospel, he studied the writings of Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Luther; and commenced the translation, which he afterwards finished at Zurich, of Erasmus's paraphrase of the New Testament into the German language. This was considered as a work of no small importance, at a time when a tolerable exposition of the scriptures was scarcely to be found in the vernacular language of any country. He was eminently skilled in Hebrew, and applied his knowledge, as we shall afterwards see, to the production of valuable translations of the sacred writings into the German and Latin languages.¹

Pellican.

Conrad Kirsner, or Pellican, celebrated for his acquaintance with Hebrew and other oriental literature, which he acquired with immense labour, amid all the disadvantages of the times, and consecrated to the illustration of the scriptures, was also a native of Alsace—born at Rüffach in the year 1478. Much against the wishes of his uncle Justus Gallus, who had been a scholar of Wesselus of Gainsfort,² he entered upon the monastic life, in the order of Minorites, at the age of sixteen years. At twenty-four years of age, his superior learning and piety recommended him to the office of a reader and professor of theology in his order, at Basle. Two years afterwards cardinal Raymond, coming as legate to Basle, was so much struck with him as to cause the degree of doctor in divinity to be conferred on him by a bull from the pope. Of this honour, however, Pellican's modesty

¹ Gerd. i. 107—109. Melch. Ad. i. 44.² Milner iv. 295—302.

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er allowed him to avail himself. The c
also prevailed with him to accompany hi
return into Italy—destining him to hi
ours at Rome. But illness arrested
gress at Milan, and obliged him to return
Basle, to the joy of the best part of the
ety there, and in particular of the bishop,
istopher ab Utenheim. For him he drew
summary of the chief points of Christian
rine—deduced not from the fashionable
nes of the time, but directly from the
ed scriptures. His fame and influence
dly advanced: but he had now begun to
rust the reigning doctrines of satisfactions,
ilgences, purgatory, and the other figments
opery. He had had in his youth a pious
learned tutor, Paulus Scriptoris, the
rdian of his college, or convent: and
des very properly calls us to observe “the
drable providence and mercy of God in
eting the salvation of his people—for *whom*
whose them he also called.” This person, he
needs, “God had employed as his instru-
it to prepare Pellican for higher services.
had frequently observed to his scholar, that
time of reformation was certainly at hand,
n the thorny and unprofitable theology
be schools would be abandoned, the ancient
tors of the church listened to, and those
he Sorbonne fall into deserved neglect.”—
is was Pellican gradually prepared to re-
nce his monastic hood, and his prospects
advancement—though he had now been
oduced to Leo X, and made head of the
vent of his order, first at Ruffach, and
rwards at Basle; and to prefer the know-
ge and dissemination of divine truth to the
ours and emoluments of the world.

Paulus
Scriptoris.

Some of the writings of Luther began at this time to be spread abroad; and at Mulhausen, on his way from Ruffach to Basle, Pellican had the ninety-five Theses, which that reformer had published against indulgences, put into his hands by the chief magistrate of the place. He was astonished to see such propositions publicly advanced; and observed upon them, that "concerning purgatory, the subject of the first twenty-six articles, he had his doubts of its existence, since he read of no such thing in Augustine, or the fathers who preceded him, or in the holy scriptures: but that with respect to indulgences, confessions, and the pope's supremacy, to which the remaining sixty-nine related, he had no doubt, but believed the articles to be certainly true: but that Luther must explain himself more clearly upon them—which he hoped he would do if he lived."¹ Pellican taught for some time at Basle, and in 1526 removed to Zurich, where he continued till his death in 1556.

Capito.

Alsace had likewise the honour of giving birth to Wolfgang Fabricius Kœfflin, or Capito. He was born in 1478 at Hagenau, where his father was a member of the senate. His mother was of noble family. His own choice from early life would have led him to the church: but, in compliance with his father's wishes, who disliked the character of the clergy and of the theology of the times, he applied himself to medicine, for his skill in which he acquired some celebrity. Indeed he successively proceeded to the degree of doctor in each of the three faculties of physic, divinity,

¹ Gerd. i. 109—115. Melch. Ad. i. 126, &c.

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1520.

canon law; having after his father's death reverted to his original choice of the clerical profession. For some time he was professor of philosophy and school learning at Friburg Brisgau: but he became disgusted with the science which passed under those names.

1510 he was invited to Bruchsal by the bishop of Spire, and discharged there the office of preacher for three years. In his excursions from that place to Heidelberg, on commissions given him by the bishop, he formed a friendship with Œcolampadius, then resident in that town, which was uninterrupted only by the death of the latter. In 1513, at the solicitation of the senate of Basle, he accepted the office of minister of the cathedral church of their city. Erasmus, noticing his appointment, speaks of him as "a profound theologian, a man eminently skilled in the three learned languages, and of the utmost piety and sanctity." When settled at Basle,

1514.

he lost no time in persuading his friend Œcolampadius to join him there, and thus conferred upon that city one of the greatest blessings it had ever received. These two great men, thus united, sowed the first seeds of evangelical truth and reformation, which afterwards produced so rich a harvest in the place. Leo X. had formed so high an opinion of Capito, that he, unsolicited, conferred on him "a provostship, or deanery," probably out of the cathedral of Basle; but Capito soon resigned it again, feeling "a rich dignity and the duties of a parish minister" to be ill assorted together: and the latter were in his eyes now more and more opening to the discovery of the truth: the mass became

1517.

offensive to his conscience, and he refused any more to celebrate it. At this time his acquaintance with Zwingli commenced. Now also he prefixed to the work of a friend, on the state of the church, an epistle dedicatory to the bishop of Basle, in which he urged the necessity of undertaking, and vigorously prosecuting, without at all despairing of success, a reformation of the church. The year 1520 removed him to a new and very different scene. He accepted, and, both from his preceding and his subsequent conduct, we are bound to believe from the purest motives, the appointments of ecclesiastical counsellor and chancellor to the archbishop of Mentz, the first prince of the German Empire, and was himself raised to the rank of a noble by the emperor Charles V. But he found that his situation did not enable him to accomplish the good which he had expected: and he in consequence, after three years trial, resigned it, with all the high prospects which it might have opened to him, and went to join Bucer as a humble preacher of the gospel at Strasburg, where he undertook the charge of S. Thomas's church, and continued there till his death in 1541. He was a man of the most gentle manners, and was devoted to learning; but in subservience to usefulness, not at the expence of it. He was one of those who, in the earlier part of his course, exhorted Luther to more moderate measures than he, happily, consented to adopt. But in after life he perpetually urged Erasmus, who would never speak out,¹ "to throw off the cloke of Nicodemus."²

The following account is preserved of an

¹ "Mussitanti."

² Gerd. i. 115—118. Melch. Ad. i. 41—43. Ru. i. 12, 75:

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interview which took place between Capito and Pellican, in a visit which the latter paid to the former at Bruchsal in the year 1512. Capito took his friend aside, and solemnly exhorted him to tell him his real sentiments on the subject of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Pellican, thus pressed, replied: "This is a subject which has long and much exercised my mind, as I perceive it exercises your's: but, by the grace of God, I have pretty well satisfied myself respecting it. To conceal nothing from you, I must tell you, therefore, that I give no credit to the figment of transubstantiation, which is now universally received in the church; for it does not at all agree with the first institution of this sacrament, and is directly opposed to sound theology. Christ, when he instituted the supper, was sitting at the table before his disciples, and, distributing to each of them his portion, he took nothing from his own body or blood: it remained undiminished and unchanged. As it will be said, These things are to be judged of, not by the bodily eyes, but by the spirit and faith. Be it so. *He, however, that spiritual judgeth all things*; and faith does not indiscriminately receive every absurdity, it only such things as, though they may be apparently contrary to reason, yet agree with the word of God, rightly interpreted." He then proceeded to discuss some passages of the others; to shew the inconceivable absurdity supposing Christ to have held his own person in his own hands, and to have distributed it to his disciples; and that it was a vain subterfuge to talk of its being a glorified or spiritual body. He then added: "On revolving these things in my mind I bade farewell to scholastic

Pellican
and Capito
on the
eucharist.

sophisms, and turned to that theology which is contained in the sacred scriptures, and is countenanced by the purer ages of the church. I do not, however, on this account think lightly of this sacrament: for I conclude that the body and blood of Christ are present in the sacrament, not carnally, really, or, as they speak, corporally, but sacramentally, that is, they are exhibited *to believers* after the accustomed manner of sacraments. And thus," he concluded, "you have my opinion, extorted from me by your importunity." Capito was wonderfully delighted with this discourse, as his looks, no less than his words, testified. "You have filled me with joy," he said to Pellican, "by letting me see that I have you for my associate and supporter in an opinion, of the truth of which I have been for some time convinced, but which I have thought should be kept back for the present, till there might be more hope of its being successfully promulgated."¹

Thus it appears that, long before any such doctrine was taught by the other reformers of the sixteenth century, these two great men had attained to views, in the main just, concerning a subject on which the world had been for ages, and continued still to be, lamentably bewildered. It might, however, have been still more satisfactory, had Pellican's arguments turned more on the palpable non-necessity and unreasonableness of such a mode of interpreting the words of scripture, as that on which transubstantiation is founded, rather than resting so much on the apparent absurdity of the doctrine.²

¹ Gerd. i. 112—114.² See Milner, v. 532. (1133-4.)

The early part of the life of John Hauschein, **Æcolampadius**, was subject to several remarkable changes. He was born, in the year 1520, at Winsperg, in Franconia, but of a respectable family which had come from Basle. His father originally destined him to business: but his mother, a woman celebrated for her activity of life, her beneficence, and her talents, so watched over him with all the anxiety that Augustine's mother had manifested for her son, prevailed with her husband to give him a learned education. He was sent to Heidelberg, and thence to Bologna, to study the legal profession: but he soon quitted the latter place, returned to Heidelberg, and devoted himself to the study of divinity. From early life his proficiency in learning had been distinguished; and, joined to his amiable and excellent character, it recommended him to the notice of Philip, elector Palatine, who appointed him tutor of his sons. But the life of a courtier did not suit **Æcolampadius**, and a few years he quitted that situation, and proposed to return to Heidelberg. But his parents, having now no other child, and seeing him devoted to the church, invested as much of their property as they could spare, in founding an ecclesiastical appointment which their son might hold at his native town of Winsperg. In this post, however, he for the present retained only six weeks! his too sensitive mind and tender conscience persuading him that he was not qualified for such a charge. He visited Tübingen, and then Stutgard, to avail himself, in the latter place, of the assistance of the learned Reuchlin, in his Hebrew studies. He then returned to Heidelberg; and after some time ventured to resume his situation at

A. D.
1520.

Æcolam-
padius.

1516.

1518.

1519.

Winsperg, and thus “preached Christ to his countrymen,” says his friend Capito, “about the year 1514.” In that or the following year, however, Capito, who was now stationed at Basle, persuaded the bishop to invite Œcolampadius thither also. At Basle, besides his labours as a minister, he rendered important service to Erasmus (as that learned man acknowledges in the preface to his work,) in editing the first edition that ever was printed of the Greek New Testament; the publication of which materially contributed to advance the reformation. From Basle Œcolampadius was ere long called by the canons of Augsburg, to discharge the office of a preacher in that city. But here again his timidity and scrupulosity of mind pursued him, and induced him to resign his situation, as thinking himself quite unequal to contend with the prevailing corruption of manners, and boldly to proclaim the truth to those who felt galled and irritated by it. “I confess,” he afterwards writes to a friend, “that I was weak and timid. I ought to have trusted in God, who had called me, and not to have despaired of his giving me *a mouth and wisdom.*” These traces of fickleness and weakness, in the earlier history of this great man, may teach us the more to admire the power of divine grace, which made him, in after life, so steady, determined, and every way valuable a character. On his retiring from Augsburg, the step he took was much to be regretted, and was strongly deprecated by his friends. He threw himself into a monastery—proposing to spend his future days in retirement and study. He had the precaution, however, to stipulate with the society into which he entered for the liberty of his faith,

A. D.
1520.

and of pursuing his studies according to his own pleasure ; and also, it would seem, for that of quitting the convent to exercise his ministry, if he should see his way clear to do it : “ for,” said he, with the conscientiousness which marked his character, “ if I should bind myself by five hundred oaths, I should not be able to keep them, if at any future time I should think myself qualified to be useful as a minister.” And all this liberty the Bridgettine monks in the neighbourhood of Augsburg readily promised him, anxious to gain one who would do so much credit to their order. His friends, and particularly Capito, spared no pains to draw him from this retreat : and, in the course of God’s providence, he was even *driven* into compliance with their wishes : for, as he scrupled not to express his sentiments on the controversies which then began to excite universal attention, and on the prevailing errors and abuses of the church, he found that, notwithstanding all his stipulations on entering the place, he was exposed to no small danger from his associates in the monastery, and from other devoted papists, who began even to form plots against his life. Glapio, in particular, the confessor of the emperor Charles V, at the period of the diet of Worms, himself manifested, and excited in others, determined hostility against him. He in consequence quitted his monastery, and betook himself to the castle of the celebrated Francis Sickengen,¹ then the resort of so many learned men ; and after Sickengen’s death, which soon followed, returned to Basle, where he spent the remainder of his days, and where we shall see him becoming “ the

1521.

1522.

¹ Milner, v. 245, 570. (832. (10).)

CHAP.
XIV.

reformer of that city, and, in conjunction with Zwingle, of Switzerland at large.”—Grynæus speaks of him as being esteemed, “for skill in the learned languages, for sound theological erudition, and for exact acquaintance with ecclesiastical antiquity, the first man of the age in which he lived.”¹

Hedio.

Caspar Hedio was a native of the Marquisate of Baden, in Suabia, who laboured long and successfully, first at Mentz and then at Strasburg. He studied, and took his doctor's degree, at Basle; and, according to Ruchat, when Capito removed from that city to Mentz, Hedio succeeded him, and preached to the citizens of Basle with indefatigable zeal. This forms his only immediate connexion with Switzerland.²

Vadian.

Joachim von Walt, or Vadian, was a distinguished layman, a native of S. Gallen, where he was eight times raised to the consulate, or office of burgomaster. Bullinger styles him “the honour of their common country.” He was intimately acquainted with almost every kind of learning; and, having also great talents for business, was employed on various occasions of high importance to the Helvetic body at large. He had studied at Vienna, where he took the degree of doctor of medicine, held a professorship, and rose to the honour of rector of the university. He was also made poet laureat and public orator by the emperor Maximilian, in whose presence, and in that of several crowned heads who met at Vienna in the year 1515, he harangued with great applause. He

¹ S. Grynæus de obitu Œcol., and Capito de vit. Œcol., prefixed to Œcol. et Zuing. Epist.—Melch. Ad. i. 21—23. Gerd. i. 118—121. Ruchat, i. 13, 14.

² M. Ad. i. 116. Ru. i. 75.

A. D.
1530.

He likewise applied himself to the study of the law. He quitted Vienna, and returned to his own country in the year 1518, and there for some time practised medicine. He zealously, bravely, and with great wisdom and effect promoted the cause of the reformation, presiding at more than one of the great public disputations by which its success was so materially advanced in Switzerland. The subject of religion lay near his heart, so that he studied it minutely, and wrote several treatises on the questions which then so much engrossed the public mind. He even once delivered expository lectures on the Acts of the Apostles to a select audience at S. Gallen, the minutes of which, having been taken down by some of his hearers, and communicated to Bullinger, are highly commended by him. "Had Vadian," he says in the prefatory address of his own commentary on the Acts, "committed his lectures to writing, and published them, they would have rendered my exposition unnecessary." Vadian's life, we are told, was closed in a very pious and edifying manner.—His valuable library he bequeathed to the public, under the guardianship of the senate of S. Gallen.¹

Oswald Geisheuser, or Myconius, (who is to be distinguished from Frederic Myconius, the friend and fellow labourer of Luther,²) was a native of Lucerne, born in 1488. He studied at Basle, where he was noticed and assisted by Erasmus and Glareanus. He presided over the public school, first at Basle, and then at Zurich—where we have seen that he was a principal means of introducing Zwingle. He

Oswald
Myconius.

¹ M. Adam, iv. 24—28 (inter Medicos). Ru. i. 60—62. Jerd. i. 260. ii. 239, 246, 325, 326.

² Vol. i. 255-6, 335, 484. Milner, v. 567. (App. 6.)

him. What need has any one to do that, who has the gospel, and S. Paul, and the other writers of the New Testament to draw from?" In the year 1522, or 1523, however, he was expelled from Lucerne, and retired to Einsidlin; from whence he was soon after recalled to Zurich, and continued there till after the death of Zwingle, in 1531. He was then called to the charge of a church at Basle, and soon after became the successor of Œcolampadius, both in his professorship and his pulpit; and continued in that situation till his death in 1552. His services to the reformation were great and valuable.

A. D.
1520.

1532.

It may be interesting to the reader to peruse the advice given to him by Zwingle, while he was struggling to maintain his ground at Lucerne. It savours of the commanding, yet Christian mind of its author. "Go before the senate, and make an address to them worthy of yourself and of him whose religion you profess; suited to touch their consciences, but not to irritate their feelings, and without the least personal allusion to any individual. Deny that you are a Lutheran, but affirm that you are a Christian. Assert your fidelity as a teacher: and appeal, not to your being a native of Switzerland, or of Lucerne, but to the fact that you were never found otherwise than faithful. Appeal also to the affection of your scholars—who may accompany you voluntarily, and may intreat the senate not to deprive them of the director of their studies. Take with you as goodly a company of them as you can: select some one who is competent to do the thing handsomely, and let him speak boldly but briefly for the reformation, and for the services they may hope one day to receive from their

Zwingle's
advice to
him.

CHAP.
XIV.

titudes, than desert Christ for the friendship of the world.”¹

Trachsel.

To these worthies we may add Balthasar Trachsel, minister of Art, in the canton of Schweitz. He was the first ecclesiastic in Switzerland, at the period of the reformation, who ventured to marry: but in so doing he outran the course of public sentiment, and was in consequence driven from his station. He afterwards, however, laboured usefully in other situations.²

Reflections.

1. The
number of
eminent
men.

In casting our eye over this list of names, most of them of high renown, all of them of “good report” in the church of Christ, we feel loudly called upon, as in surveying the German reformation, to adore the good providence and powerful grace of Almighty God, who at this period deigned to look down upon and visit his languishing and almost expiring church, and to raise up even a host of champions, “valiant for the truth,” to assail the reigning corruptions, to restore the lost light of the gospel, to illustrate their profession by a holy and devoted life; and thus to effect a great and blessed “deliverance in the earth.” “The Lord gave the word, and great was the company of them that published it;” and glorious the success of their labours. With him also is still “the residue of the Spirit:” and we trust that he is again in some more copious measure pouring it upon his church. It is easy to him to call forth men—“men of God”—“by whom Jacob shall arise,” and his church, even in its most decayed parts—not only in the ancient scenes of the reformation, but even in places

¹ M. Ad. in Blaur. i. 197-8. Gerd. ii. 239, 249, 260-1. Ru. i. 76, 114, 153. ii. 241.

² Ru. i. 74. ii. 397.

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which the reformation never reached, or where it was almost instantly extinguished again—revived, and restored to primitive purity and beauty. “Ye that make mention of the Lord keep not silence, give him no rest, until he establish, and till he make” his church “a wise in the earth.”

One thing with which we cannot fail to be struck, in these heroes of the reformation, is the high character which most of them possessed for talent and learning. A great proportion of them had flattering prospects opening before them, on account of their celebrity of this kind—all which they willingly sacrificed, and “counted loss for Christ.” But we see that their acquirements all told, with the most powerful effect, for the great work which God had excited them to undertake. They gave a weight to their character, and an authority to their decisions, which could not otherwise have been attained: they enabled them to bring the scriptures to light, to render them, by translation, accessible to the people, and to restore the true interpretation of them; to beat down their enemies in argument, and to refute them in their favourite appeal to antiquity; in short, to recover the ancient faith of the church of Christ, uncorrupted by novelties and extravagances, whether their own or those of other teachers. Without their high literary attainments, humanly speaking, they could never have been qualified for the work which they performed. Let sound learning never be undervalued. Let it never be surmised, that it is not conducive to the service of God. The pride of learning, and the abuse of learning, are fatal evils; and without the possession of it, no doubt, the man

2. The
learning

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XIV.

of devoted piety, with merely the vernacular scriptures in his hand, may be even eminently useful; but there are higher and more extensive spheres of service which he is clearly not qualified to occupy. Learning, when employed not for ostentation, but for use; not to set up human wisdom in opposition to divine revelation; but humbly, patiently, and laboriously to trace out, to exhibit, to assert, and to defend the revealed truth of God, and to apply it to all the varied purposes for which it was made known; is of the highest value. And let every younger student remember, that he knows not to what scene of service he is destined: let it be his humble aim, depending upon and seeking the divine blessing, to become as well qualified as possible for that station, be it what it may, to which it shall please God to call him. And, in this view, let him duly consider the diligent study, the indefatigable labour, and the patient zeal of these great and good men—who, devoted to learning as they ever were, yet did not pursue it for its own sake, or lose themselves in a contemplative life, but denied themselves, and studied, and prayed without ceasing, in order that they might *act* with wisdom and success, to the glory of God, and the highest good of their fellow men. Therefore their memory is blessed.

3. Their
union.

Finally, it is delightful to observe the cordial union which subsisted among these good men. This has been noticed as a peculiarly gratifying feature of the Swiss reformation. These eminent persons were all firm and faithful friends even unto death; and not a discordant note is heard among them. They acted in unison, and were ever ready to counsel, to

SWISS REFORMERS.

monish, to encourage, and to help one another. "A good and pleasant thing it is for brethren" thus "to dwell together in unity." makes the church secure as "a city that is at concord within itself," and fitted "as an army with banners" to subdue the world, by spiritual weapons, to "the obedience of faith." Happy had it been if the same cordiality had subsisted between the two great branches of the reformation, as between the several members of this, and indeed we might say of either branch, separately considered, among themselves.

CHAPTER XV.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION AT ZURIC AND IN THE OTHER CANTONS, TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1522.

CHAP.
XV.

Mercenary
warfare,
and foreign
pensions.

THE Swiss, since the time they shook off the Austrian yoke, and formed their general confederation, have scarcely been engaged, as principals, in war with any foreign power; but, as furnishing troops to other belligerents, they have borne a part in a great proportion of the wars of Europe. Their plan has been, with the exception, since the reformation, of the protestant cantons, to accept pensions¹ from various foreign states, and in consideration of them, when called upon, to furnish those states with certain contingents of troops. Besides this, individuals have been allowed to receive similar payments, for enlisting soldiers in their country to recruit the armies of their pay-masters.² The consequence of this last regulation has been, that numerous volunteers of the same country have been seen marching against one another in opposite armies.³ The acceptance of these pensions is a lamentable derogation from the boasted independence

¹ Which have acquired the name of *les argents de paix et d'alliance*.

² Beausobre, i. 252. Planta, Helv. Confed. ii. 43.

³ Robertson's Charles V. ii. 189.

the Swiss: and, though various political considerations are urged to shew the expediency of the plan,¹ the morality of it seems too well summed up in the description, "engaging for money to cut the throats of men with whom they had no quarrel,"² personal or public. Against this crying evil, the national sin of his country, as he and other good men esteemed it, and one which was productive of the worst moral effects among the people, Zwingli had long before lifted up his voice.³ But the circumstances of the times now enabled him to make a more solemn and effective protest against it. In other years also, besides exhibiting Zwingli as a patriot no less than a Christian, this subject connects itself with the history of the reformation.

A. D.
1520.

Protests
of Zwingli
against
them.

In the year 1520, the pope's nuncio, Pucci, made a communication to the cantons assembled at Glaris, desiring that they would not enter into engagements with any one relative to the Turkish war, as the Pope might have occasion for the services of their troops.⁴ The cantons, in reply, took the opportunity to complain, not only of the ill payment of the pope's pensions, but also that their country was overrun with his retainers, ready to seize upon every vacant benefice by virtue of bulls and privileges from him,⁵ and that livings were even

Jan. 9.

Strong
measure
of the can-
tons against
the pope's
nomination
to benefices;

Coxe, Let. 21.

"Docens, non esse jus aut fas homini, ut se mercede duci patiatur ad fundendum sanguinem miserorum, et unumque innocentium hominum, a quibus nulla ipse unquam rîa affectus sit." Simler de vit. H. Bullingeri, 24.

While at Glaris, Beausobre, i. 252. Above, p. 343.

Ruchat, i. 77.

"Bands of foreign priests, furnished with bulls from the pope, continually prowled about in search of vacant benefices;

given to soldiers of his guard, who set them to sale.¹ They added also that priests committed to prison for murder were absolved by the bishops, and reëstablished in their benefices. They demanded the correction of such flagrant disorders: and, when the nuncio gave them nothing but evasive, or at the best fair words in reply, they resolved to take the remedy into their own hands, and banished the whole company of strolling hirelings out of the country as rogues and vagabonds,² destitute of the Spirit of God: and even unanimously declared their determination to put into a sack, and throw into the next river, any person who should for the future attempt to renew the sacrilegious traffic which had been carried on. Such a proceeding shewed both the spirit of the people, the indignant sense entertained of the length to which abuses were carried, and how much the pope's authority was on the wane in the country.

The Pope's
demands.

Circulation
of Luther's
books.

In the month of October following, the pope sent Pucci again into Switzerland, to demand two things of the cantons: 1. That they should engage to defend the church by force of arms, where it might be necessary: 2. That they should extirpate the doctrine of Luther from among them, and burn his books. The writings of Luther had for two years past been widely circulated in Switzerland and the neighbouring countries; the celebrated printer,

and, as they were ignorant of the language of the country, could do nothing but say mass in Latin." *M'Crie's Ref. in Italy*, p. 312.

¹ Nay, Zwingle indignantly says, at the first Disputation at Zurich, "to stable-boys and mule-keepers." *Op. ii.* 614 (b).

² *Méchans coquins.* &c.

REFORMATION, TO A. D. 1522.

n Froben of Basle, the friend of Erasmus, ing, by the recommendation of Beatus nanus, reprinted them, and not only sold n in Switzerland, but exported them in e numbers into France, Spain, and Italy.¹

he first of the pope's demands the cantons the present rejected, apprehending that he gned to employ their troops against the g of France. On the subject of the second, e were differences of opinion; some being ing to attempt the extinction of the re- ad doctrine, others thinking it unreasonable ibly to suppress that which had never been y examined. And, on the whole, the effect he demand, and of the discussion which c place upon it, was only to fan the spark ch had been kindling, and raise it to a ie.

he next year the king of France proposed he cantons, assembled in diet at Lucerne, ecial treaty of alliance, and that they should st him in the war in which he was likely to engaged with the emperor and the pope.

other cantons, gained by his promises, ed to his proposals: but Zurich, influenced the spirited remonstrances of Zwingle nst all such engagements, and against ign pensions generally, refused its con- ence, and even exacted an oath fr ens that they would accept no. i any foreign power.² This dissq i the general vote of the ca

luchat, i. 58—60. M^cCrie's Italy, p. 3 l afterwards to have discontinued the pri s, by the persuasion of Erasmus—much t other printer of Basle, Adam Petri, who em as they appeared, frequently with n ad an extensive sale for them. Melcl less, from Bullinger and Stetler.

CHAP.
XV.

implied condemnation of their conduct, with certain consequences which followed, produced, in some of the other states, a deep-seated and lasting resentment against that canton, which, as Bullinger, and after him J. J. Hottinger thinks, laid the foundation of much of that animosity which was subsequently manifested by some of the cantons against the reformation itself. It excited also much secret disaffection in the minds of many of the citizens of Zurich, who felt that a fruitful source of their private gains was cut off. The pope at the same time demanded of the cantons the troops which they were engaged by treaty to furnish to him; but he was obliged to stipulate that they should be employed neither against the emperor nor the king of France; so that they merely marched into Italy and marched back again. Some months after, the war with France being on the point of breaking out, the pope repeated his demand; but was refused: on which he issued an excommunication against the king of France and all his adherents—including the twelve cantons which had entered into alliance with that prince. But so little regard was paid to his spiritual thunders, that the magistrates caused the bull of excommunication to be torn down wherever it was posted.

Through the address, however, of Schinner, the cardinal of Sion, troops were still raised for the pope in Switzerland, and even Zurich and Zug were prevailed upon to furnish him with some companies to be employed solely for the defence of the states of the church. The consequence was, that, in the siege of Milan, Swiss troops were seen marching to attack the city, which was defended, for the French in great part by their own countrymen:

Calamities
of the Swiss
in Italy.
1522.

led to the loss of that place to the king of France. The Swiss troops in the pay of France soon after suffered a severe defeat from the emperor's army, at Bicocca,¹ and lost three thousand men. The remainder returned home humbled and dispirited to the greatest degree; which produced for the time a disgust for these foreign services, particularly in the canton of Schweitz, on which the loss had chiefly fallen.²

Zwingle, who had been for three years a minister of that canton, did not fail to avail himself of this opportunity to promote an object which he thought of the greatest consequence to his country. He immediately addressed to the canton, "a friendly Exhortation to shun the alliance of princes, and the insidious pensions of strangers." A noble spirit of piety and patriotism breathes throughout this composition. He condoles with his countrymen under their calamity, but implores them to consider to what causes it might be traced, and what lessons they ought to learn from it. He complains of the decay of piety, and of the increase of pride and self-confidence. The people had been led to think nothing beyond their power, and were ready to adopt the impious boastings of those who said, 'We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement: when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us.'³ Therefore God contended with them, and brought them down.—He contrasted the wars in which they engaged with those in which their ancestors had contended for liberty or safety, and almost for existence.

A. D.
1522.

Zwingle's
Exhorta-
tion to the
Canton of
Schweitz.

May 14.

¹ Robertson's Charles V. ii. 195

² Ru. i. 76—88, 99—101. H. c.

³ Isa. xxviii. 15.

no mercenary wars. "They had had no such thirst for foreign gold, as to be willing for the sake of it to shed the blood of men with whom they had no ground of quarrel." The Swiss nation, he is bold to affirm, had lost more men, and suffered more fatal defeats, in the wars of Naples, Navarre, and Milan, in which they really had no interest, than in all other disputes which had arisen since the first establishment of their union.—He then describes the excesses of which their soldiers were guilty in this mercenary warfare, such that if they were practised upon themselves, and were not followed with speedy vengeance, they would be ready to blaspheme the tardy justice of heaven. He descants also on the vices which their troops who returned home imported into their country; on the mischiefs, rather than benefits, which they derived from subsidies paid them, and on other topics; and concludes with earnestly exhorting them to repentance, and works meet for repentance. "If Christ," said he, "warned men to repent from the calamities which had befallen others, how much more should *they* be warned by the calamities which they had themselves suffered, in the persons of so many of their own countrymen and relations. We may well imagine that we hear him proclaim to us, *Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish*. If however they would hear his voice, and turn from their sins, and among them from these foreign alliances and mercenary wars, the promises of God (to say nothing of the situation of their country, fenced in by the Alps and the Rhine,) might give them abundant assurance of security.¹

¹ Zuing. Op. i. fo. 154—160. One plea for these foreign services is, the keeping up of a military spirit for their own

by is it for a country, no less than for an
 mal, when under its afflictions it has
 it a messenger, an interpreter" of the
 dispensations, to whom it will hearken, be
 e turned from its sins, and directed into
 y of righteousness. The frankness and
 of Zwingli did not displease the canton
 weitz : and their chief secretary even
 though it would seem only in his own
 returned him the most cordial acknowl-
 eds for his address. The result was,
 ssing of a law abolishing all foreign
 es and pensions—though only for twenty-
 ars.¹ Lasting effects, however, followed
 utions of Zwingli and his associates in
 cantons. Till the year 1777, " none
 protestant states received any pension
 rance ;" and then only " the protestants
 ris and Appenzel, and the town of
 ."²

Handwritten note:
 1577

Handwritten note:
 Dismissal of
 his official
 from his
 foreign
 pensions

ing the progress of these events Zwingli
 ed an additional testimony of the
 in which he was held at Zurich, in
 action to a ceremony in the cathedral,
 by the resignation of Henry Fagot-
 a person of eminence, and a former
 e resignation, who was then pastor
 Abbey Church. Zwingli's appointment
 occurred to him by a letter from the
 ties of the city bearing an honorable
 my to his character and services
 more elevated situations, however,
 in the church, as a civil officer,

Handwritten note:
 He is made
 a citizen of
 Zurich
 1576
 Aug 11

—in fact . . . he never was . . .
 a minister . . . he never . . .
 that . . . the subject . . .
 a testimony . . .
 e. 2. 1

CHAP.
XV.His labours
and
conflicts.

Dec. 4.

1522.

which we are apt to covet, seldom add to the happiness of their possessors : and accordingly Zwingli found this station involve him in new cares, and expose him to new vexations. In a letter to Haller, chiefly treating of some cases of conscience, he thus describes the incessant engagements which pressed upon him. "The hurry of business and the care of the churches occupy me to such a degree, that Dr. Engelhardt lately told me, he wondered that I had not before this time become distracted. For instance, I have been ten times called off since I began this letter. From Suabia they write to me for what I am not competent to perform for them ; though I do what I can. From every part of Switzerland I am applied to by those who are in difficulties for Christ's sake. If however any thing occurs in which I can be of use to you, do not spare me—for I hope for more leisure. . . . Put a candid construction on what I write : but do not set down for oracles what I send merely as the offerings of good will. I only suggest what may give an impulse to your own thoughts." ¹ One while he even felt himself so much harassed as to entertain thoughts of relinquishing his situation : but, shortly after, his confidence in God revived, and we find him writing in a noble spirit to his friend Myconius, as one prepared to despise all difficulties and encounter all dangers rather than desert his post. "Such," says he, "are the storms that beat upon the house of God, and threaten to overthrow it, that, unless the Lord himself had evidently appeared to watch over it, I should long since have given it up for lost. But,

¹ Œc. et Z. Epist. 39 (b).

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When I see that the vessel of the church is in every case piloted and controlled by him, and that he even commands the winds and the waves, I should be a coward indeed, and unworthy the name of a man, should I disgracefully ruin myself by quitting my station. I therefore commit myself entirely to his care and kindness.”¹

A
14
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These letters make a very satisfactory impression concerning the state of the writer's mind. All his time and all his powers are crossed in the service of his divine Master: he is ready to assist all his fellow servants, to the best of his ability, but without presuming to dictate to them—he would not have his counsels taken for “oracles.” At the same time he experiences the conflicts of the Christian, and obtains the Christian's victory. He says, “the sentence of death in himself;” but yet “that he may not trust in himself, but in God that raiseth the dead.”²—His “hope for the leisure” is one which we all indulge, but which the faithful servant of God must scarcely expect to be realized till incapacity lays him low, or death transmits him to “the rest that remaineth for the people of God.”

Good
of his

Among the individuals whose intercourse with Zwingli about this time proved of great service to him, was Francis Lambert, a native of Avignon, and a Franciscan of the strictest order, who had been for fifteen years a professed devotee to divinity in his own country. To a certain extent he had become acquainted with the truths of the gospel, and he appears, in his colloquies, to have been “an eloquent man,” and of great zeal to communicate to others what

Fran
Lambert

J. H. Hott. vi. 235. viii. 270. Gerd. i. 266-7.
2 Cor. ii. 8—10.

had learned himself. Having been compelled to quit his home for his religion's sake, he had come into Switzerland, and preached earnestly at Geneva, Lausanne, and other places. He was well received by the bishop of Lausanne, Sebastian de Montfaucon, obtained considerable influence over him, and seemed for the time to have made a very hopeful impression upon his mind. But that prelate, like his brother of Constance, as the reformation proceeded, and incurred odium, drew back, and ranged himself among its opponents. From Lausanne Lambert proceeded to Friburg, and thence to Berne; where Haller gave him letters of introduction to Zwingle, at Zurich. In the German part of Switzerland he could preach only in Latin; which he did with much acceptance to such as were capable of understanding him. But he needed himself to be "taught the way of God more perfectly;" and happily he was open to conviction, and willing to learn. Among the errors which he still retained, was the doctrine of the intercession of the saints; which he accordingly preached at Zurich. Zwingle remonstrated against it, and he in consequence begged to discuss the question more fully with the reformed teachers. He did so, and was convinced of his error: on which, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, he blessed God for his further grace thus bestowed on him. Henceforth he laid aside his Franciscan habit. He afterwards went into Saxony, where the elector, at Luther's instance, assigned him a pension. He soon after married, and removed to Strasburg, and finally into Hesse, where he materially assisted the landgrave in the reformation of his country in the year 1526. By him he was made pro-

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of divinity at Marburg, where he died in the year 1530.¹

Hitherto the Swiss reformers had encountered no public or systematic opposition; but we now begin to find various authorities in church and state combining their efforts to stay their progress. In the year 1532 several citizens of Zurich, acting upon the lessons they had received concerning Christian liberty, and the unscriptural impositions of the Roman church, ventured to neglect the prohibition of meat during lent, without having applied for a dispensation—a liberty which Zwingli himself had never yet taken. Christopher Roschouer, a celebrated printer, the first who introduced a press into Zurich, is mentioned as one of the number. This conduct gave great offence, and some of the clergy commenced a prosecution against these contemners of "the laws of the church," before the magistrature. The bishop of Constance also, having been apprised of what had taken place, deputed a deputation, at the head of which was Koller, who were to address themselves both to the magistrates and to the chapter, commanding the latter to support their brethren in the prosecution of so flagrant an offence. The deputation demanded to be heard before the grand council; a demand which was complied with upon the condition, suggested by the general voice of the citizens, that the church of St. Zwingli, Engelhorn, and Kesselberg should be present, and should have the liberty of reply. With great reluctance the deputies assented to the condition, and Koller collected

the church of St. Zwingli, Engelhorn, and Kesselberg

the church of St. Zwingli

the church of St. Zwingli

the church of St. Zwingli

¹ *ibid.* 34. *ibid.* 102. *ibid.* 103. *ibid.* 104. *ibid.* 105. *ibid.* 106. *ibid.* 107. *ibid.* 108. *ibid.* 109. *ibid.* 110. *ibid.* 111. *ibid.* 112. *ibid.* 113. *ibid.* 114. *ibid.* 115. *ibid.* 116. *ibid.* 117. *ibid.* 118. *ibid.* 119. *ibid.* 120. *ibid.* 121. *ibid.* 122.

a pompous harangue against certain persons, (though without naming any,) who wished to abolish all the commandments and ceremonies of the church—the removal of which might be expected to draw after it the subversion of the Christian faith itself. He then urged the charge against the offending citizens, who had occasioned “scandal to the whole world;” exhorting the magistrates to steadfastness in their attachment to the church—“out of which there was no salvation;” and concluding with the declaration, that “the ceremonies were the only means of leading the people in the way to heaven.” Zwingle replied, “that what S. Peter had said of the ceremonies of the Jews might well be applied to those of the church of Rome, that they were *a yoke which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear*: that it was not by means of ceremonies, but by the promulgation of the word of God, after the example set us by Jesus Christ and his apostles, that the people must be guided in the way to heaven: that, during the sixteen years that he had officiated in the diocese of Constance, the bishop had never once sent any deputation like the present, for the purpose of shewing how the word of God ought to be preached; and that he could not but be astonished that he should now treat, as of so much consequence, the omission, on the part of a few simple citizens, of an insignificant observance, which he (the speaker) would undertake to prove, from the scriptures and the fathers, was not binding on the consciences of Christians.” In the end, the council came to a conclusion not very satisfactory to the deputation, That the bishop should be requested to assemble the dignitaries and theologians of his diocese, or,

practicable, to obtain the decision of a council, both as to the present question, and as to the real cause of the dissensions complained of; that, in the mean time, the people should be exhorted to abstain from meat during lent; and that those who refused to do so, without urgent cause, should be punished.¹

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These proceedings drew from the pen of Zwingli a small work on "the distinction of Meats," including a consideration of the question of "Offences and Scandals:"² and this was his earliest publication, though, in order to despatch at once what related to the foreign pensions, we have previously noticed his "Exhortation" on that subject. As a writer, therefore, in the cause of the reformation, Zwingli was posterior to Luther by four or five years.

Zwingli's
first publication:
April,
1522.

The following month the bishop, through the medium of Faber, addressed a long mandate, or exhortation,³ to the clergy and the magistrates of his diocese, and another specially to the provost and chapter of Zurich, the object of which, as far as Zurich was concerned, evidently was to procure the dismissal of Zwingli—though still without naming him. They were accompanied by copies of the pope's bull and the edict of Worms against Luther. The writer deplored the divisions of the church, and that, in contempt of the edicts of the pope and the emperor, teachers, "prompted by the spirit of the devil, and acting only from motives of private ambition, preached against the ceremonies which had been ever in use in the church;"

Mandates
of the
bishop.
May.

¹ Ruchat, i. 110—113. Gerdes, i. 268—270, and the interesting Document, No. 21. Hess, 122.

² Zuing. Op. i. fo. 324—339.

³ Mandement. Parænesis.

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XV.

and that the magistrates also were divided, and did not act the part which became them.—This mandate was ordered to be read by the clergy from the pulpit every Sunday and holiday.¹

Proceedings
of the can-
tons :

About the same time, the cantons, assembled at Lucerne, and influenced in part by these admonitions of the bishop of Constance, issued a decree prohibiting the preaching of “the new doctrine,” as they styled it: and, having learned that the council of Baden had established a *preacher* in their town, they required the appointment to be cancelled, as a dangerous innovation; though they had themselves, a few months before, set a similar precedent at Neuchatel.²

and of the
monks of
Zuric.

Encouraged by these examples of their superiors, the monks of Zurich, of the three orders of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustins, preferred complaints against Zwingli before the magistrates, as “incessantly attacking them, and rendering them odious to the people.” They acknowledged that they on their part had not spared him; but, if he did not restrain his hostilities, they avowed that they should be driven to adopt more violent measures. They had a strong party favourable to them in the council, who so far prevailed as to procure an order prohibiting all “preaching or disputing against the monks.” As this order was but ill observed, and controversial subjects still continued to occupy the pulpit, the two senior pastors, Zwingli and Engelhardt, on the one side, and, on the other, the readers in the convents, were called before a commission of the council, who enjoined them not to preach on topics which might foment

June 7.

¹ Ru. i. 116, 117. Gerd. i. 27.

² Ru. i. 121-2.

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discord; at least not without previously communicating to the chapter the subjects which they proposed to discuss. Zwingli avowed his determination not to comply with this order; declaring that, agreeably to the decree of the sovereign council, and the oath which he had taken, he was resolved to preach the word of God without restriction: and the resolution which he manifested appears to have prevented any further attempt to fetter him. The monks, on the other hand, pleaded to be authorized to preach any doctrine drawn from Aquinas and Scotus: but this was refused them: and the whole happily ended in the renewal of the order, that nothing should be introduced into the pulpit which could not be clearly proved from the written word of God.¹

These transactions drew from Zwingli several publications. In the beginning of July, he, in the name of himself and his brethren, addressed to the members of the Helvetic Confederation, at large, a "Pious and Friendly Exhortation," entreating them "not to obstruct the preaching of the gospel, or discountenance the marriage of the clergy." In this work he explained the nature of the gospel; represented its great necessity generally, as alone discovering the way of salvation, and supplying to sinful and suffering mankind the consolation of which they stand in need; and its special necessity at that time, and in that country, where it had been long buried in oblivion. He then shewed that this salutary doctrine is to be drawn from the scriptures alone; and pointed out in what manner faithful teachers were to be distinguished from false ones. "He who, neglecting

Publica-
tions of
Zwingli.¹ Scultet. 42. Ru. i. 119—121.

his private interest, spares neither pains nor labour to cause the will of God to be known and revered, to bring back sinners to repentance, and to give consolation to the afflicted, is undoubtedly in unison with Christ. But, when you see teachers daily presenting to the veneration of the people new saints, whose favour must be gained by offerings; and when the same teachers continually hold forth the extent of the sacerdotal power, and the authority of the pope; you may believe that they think much more of their own profit, than of the care of the souls entrusted to them." He then asserted that the gospel was making progress so that no human power could stay its course: and he concluded this part of his address with avowing the purpose and hope of himself and his associates, to publish it to their countrymen in a way against which no just exception could be taken. Then, adverting to the scandalous lives of the ecclesiastics as one great prejudice to the cause of religion, he proceeded to plead against the prohibition of marriage to the clergy—a comparatively modern device, designed to aggrandise the church by breaking the ties which should attach the ministers of religion to their country, rendering them strangers to the domestic affections, and thus concentrating all their zeal upon the interests of the particular body to which they belonged; and, at the same time, a force upon nature, productive of unbounded licentiousness—of which the cantons had shown themselves so sensible, that "in some of them the priests were *required* to keep concubines, and every where that practice was permitted for money."¹

¹ Zwing. Op. fo. 110—119. Ru. i. 122—124. Hess, 130—138.

At the same time he addressed a "Supplication from certain Swiss Ministers to the Bishop of Constance," which had the same objects, and was to the same purport. It is

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Swiss
Reformers.

markable as bearing the signatures of eleven the zealous advocates of reformation in Switzerland—some of whose names here meet for the first time. They are as follows: Balthasar Trachsel, minister of Art, in the Canton of Schwitz; George Chalybæus, or Chelvin, minister of Weiningen, in the Common Villages; Werner Steiner, "priest;" Leo Jude, minister of Einsidlin; Erasmus Fabricius, Schmidt, canon of Zurich and Zug; Simon Zumpf, minister of Høengg; Jodocus (or Jostus) Kilchmeyer, canon of Lucerne; Ulric Stor, minister of Uster in the Common Bailiages; Caspar Megander, or Grossman, chaplain to the Hospital at Zurich; John Faber, Schmidt, chaplain in the principal church of Zurich; and Ulric Zwingle."¹—Both these documents were written from Einsidlin, during a visit which their author made to his friend Leo Jude at this place of his own former residence.—To fix their names to such an address to their Bishop, whose hostility to their views had been publicly manifested, required more boldness than some of the clergy possessed, who were heartily friendly to the object. Immerman, canon of Lucerne, before mentioned, is said to have excused himself to Zwingle, with tears in his eyes.²

About six weeks after appeared a work of Zwingle's, which has obtained more celebrity—his "Archeteles," or the Beginning and

Zwingle's
Archeteles.

Zwing. Op. i. fo. 120—123. I have made the additions
the names from Ruchat, i. 125. ² Ru. i. 126.

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XV.

the End—in other words, a summary of the main points at issue between the reformers and their opponents. This work also is addressed to the bishop of Constance, and is an answer, paragraph by paragraph, to that prelate's late mandate to the chapter of Zurich. The author however is no stranger to the courtesy, or policy, of considering that document not as the bishop's own work; but as proceeding from unprincipled advisers; in effect, it would seem, from Faber. While he treats the bishop therefore with at least all due respect, he spares neither the mandate nor its assumed authors. The Archeteles, says Gerdes, "exhibits a true picture of the Zwinglian reformation—very different from what it has been represented by many writers." It was highly esteemed, not only in Switzerland, but in foreign countries, as proving the author to be "mighty in the scriptures," and one who united an intrepid courage with true Christian moderation.¹ It is the same work from which we have, in the preceding chapter, given the author's own account of his preaching at Zurich, from the time of his first settlement in that city.

Zwingle
and Luther.

On reading over, however, these three works of Zwingle's, I must confess that I feel the defect which Dr. Milner has noticed in his writings as compared with those of Luther.² A fine, elevated, and intrepid spirit pervades them; they are free from that coarseness which often offends us in Luther; they nobly assert the exclusive authority and sufficiency of scripture, and shew a mind rich in the knowledge of the sacred writings; they maintain the true

¹ Zuing. Op. i. fo. 124—144. Ru. i. 118. Gerd. i. 273—277.

² Milner v. 531, 540. (1132, 1141.)

principles of the gospel; but it is not with that warm personal feeling of their inestimable worth and indispensable necessity, which ever appears in all that Luther wrote. Christ as our teacher, and our deliverer from the dominion of sin, is more prominent than Christ as our atonement and righteousness. The doctrine of justification by faith alone is there: but it does not pervade the frame, as the life's blood of the whole system; the source of warmth, and strength, and comfort, and of all vitality; as we see it to be in the illustrious Saxon. This difference is, no doubt, to be traced, not so much to any discrepancy of sentiment between them, as to the paths in which they had respectively been led with reference to mental conflict and temptation: and accordingly I apprehend we shall find that Zwingli, as he went forward, became more thoroughly evangelical both in his views and his feelings; as every spiritually minded Christian will do, in proportion to his advancement in self-knowledge and in the knowledge of God.¹

After this preference given to Luther on one most essential point, it may be some compensation to transcribe a portion of the devout and beautiful prayer with which Zwingli closes the last of his three works here noticed. "On thee therefore I call, O blessed Lord, to perform the work, which thou hast begun, unto the day of thy coming. If I have ever built up any thing erroneously, do thou throw it down. If I have laid any other foundation than thyself, do thou subvert it. Let thy flock, taught and imbued with thy Spirit, come to know, that it can never be wanting in any

Prayer
of Zwingli.

¹ See Milner, v. 540. (1141-2.) We read nothing of Zwingli like what is recorded of Luther, ib. iv. 419. (398-9.)

thing, while it is guided and fed by thee, its true pastor and bishop. For thou, O Son of God, art the protector and advocate of all that hope in thee Thou therefore, O most blessed Vine, whose dresser is the Father, and we the branches, forsake not thy plantation, thy building ! ¹ Thou hast promised to be with us even unto the end of the world ; and hast bid us, when brought before kings and rulers, to be without carefulness, for that the Spirit shall teach us in the same hour what we ought to speak ; so that even the unwilling may hear the testimony concerning thee. Put therefore into the mouth of all thy servants, who seek thy glory, and hallow thy name, *some speech*, that they may utter before the princes of this world those things which shall be acceptable in thy sight, and serviceable to miserable mortals ! Thus shall we, who are members one of another, and one body in thee our sole and ever-living head, become thy one spouse, betrothed to thee, having neither spot nor wrinkle ; and *she* shall be forsaken,² who is made up of corruptions and defilements, on account of which the name of God is blasphemed : O Thou who livest and reignest, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, One God, for ever and ever. Amen."

Zwingle's
address
to his
brothers.

But another work of Zwingle's, published at this time, or rather an introductory letter prefixed to it, which has already been mentioned, must not be passed unnoticed. The work is merely a sermon on the character and history of the Virgin Mary, whom he was charged with reviling in the grossest manner, because he refused her the divine honours so impiously

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 9.

² No dubious hint concerning utter separation from Rome.

to her by the papists. But his inscription to his *five brothers*, in a copious epistle, sets many interesting traits of his character and principles. His brothers, it seems, manifested great uneasiness at the shocking reports which were propagated concerning him,¹ and expressed much distrust of the whole course which he was pursuing; and they wished to meet and confer with him on the subject. He in turn expresses the most sincere affection for them, and assures them that he took such interest in their concerns as to leave himself informed of nothing which related to them. When he heard of their applying themselves earnestly to their honest callings in life, after the example of their fathers, particularly the constant and honourable pursuit of agriculture, he found in them the greatest satisfaction: but when he heard of any of their number giving into the practice of mercenary warfare, and hiring themselves out to shed blood, “a service in which Satan was the author, and which not only destroyed temporal life, but exposed the soul to eternal damnation;” then no words could express the anguish he felt on their account. He trusted, however, that the mercy and grace of God would restrain or reclaim them from such a course. “And I hope,” he says, “you will entertain the like good confidence concerning me. For, as far as the divine assistance shall enable me, I will not cease to discharge faithfully and diligently the duties assigned to me, unmoved by the fear of the world, and the powerful tyrants of the world; and will never allow the salutary preaching

to enumerate many of the most atrocious kind in a relation of himself to the assembled cantons, in 1548.

of the word of God to soften their hard hearts, and bring down their proud spirits. With respect to myself, I am not at all solicitous: for I have long since committed myself and all that concerns me to the providence of God Be assured there is no kind of evil which can befall me, that I have not fully taken into my account, and am not prepared to meet. I know indeed that my strength is perfect weakness. I know also the power of those with whom I have undertaken to contend. But, as S. Paul says concerning himself, *I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me*. I know that no one can guide a soul into the way of salvation divinely provided for us, without the Spirit and power of God. But, if I should desert the service assigned me, some one else would be found to take it up, whom God would impel forward to perform that which he now effects by my means—while I should incur the just and fatal punishment due to the disobedient son, who said to his father, *I go, Sir, and went not*. It is God's purpose to recover this corrupt world, and to purify the depraved manners of the age in which we live, by the manifestation of his word. And who can contemplate either the horrible wickedness and the perversion of religion that prevail, or the immense goodness of Almighty God, who deigns to offer himself and all his blessings to lost mankind, and seeks to reclaim from the ruin, in which sin has involved him, the noble work of his hands, which he hath formed, and, when fallen, restored—having redeemed him from eternal damnation, at the price of his own blood: who, I say, that has the office of preaching the word of God committed to him, can contemplate these things, and yet yield to the impious

opposition of the ungodly, and surmount his
 labours? God forbid! For then, as the Lord
 threatens his prophet, the blood of souls would
 be required at his hand. But suppose, in the
 discharge of his duty, a man should incur all
 that the world can do to him; all the mockery
 and insult, all the infamy that it can heap upon
 him, and in the end a cruel and ignominious
 death: I leave you to judge what ought to be
 his choice in such a case. Would you have
 him connive at all the enormous wickedness
 which God has commanded me to extirpate,
 and thus purchase the temporary and perishing
 repose of this life, at the expence of the loss
 of my soul, and everlasting damnation? No:
 but you will say, 'I might reprove sin with
 mildness and moderation.' My dearest brothers,
 the wickedness of the world so moderate and
 venial, that you think my reproofs of it more
 severe than the occasion calls for? If you do
 think so, you mistake most grievously. The
 enormities of our times are so great, that the
 most cutting words of the prophets, and the
 severest judgments of the divine anger, are
 needed to reach them. They call for a Jonas to
 proclaim, *For forty days and Ninveh shall be
 destroyed*. They call for a Daniel to cry, *God
 has sent his angels to destroy the city of the
 idolatrous king*. They call for a Jeremiah to
 say, *Behold, I will bring upon this city all the
 judgments which I have pronounced against it, because
 they have refused to hear my voice, says the Lord*.
 They call for a John the Baptist to cry, *Woe
 unto them that are at ease, who say, We are
 rich, we are able to buy for ourselves, we
 have no need of thee, O God*. They call for
 a Zechariah to cry, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace, for
 we are at ease*. They call for a Micah to
 say, *Woe unto them that are at ease, who say,
 We will not see war, nor will we build bulwarks,
 for we have peace, for we are at ease*. They
 call for a Habakkuk to say, *Woe unto them
 that are at ease, who say, We will not see war,
 nor will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Lamentation to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Jeremiah to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Ezekiel to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Daniel to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Hosea to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Joel to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Amos to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Obadiah to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Jonah to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Micah to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Zephaniah to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Haggai to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Zechariah to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Malachi to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Matthew to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Mark to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Luke to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 John to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Acts to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Romans to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Corinthians to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Galatians to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Ephesians to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Philippians to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Colossians to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Thimothee to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Titus to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Philemon to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Hebrews to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 James to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Peter to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 John to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*. They call for a
 Revelation to say, *Woe unto them that are
 at ease, who say, We will not see war, nor
 will we build bulwarks, for we have peace,
 for we are at ease*.

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whole family, should you be brought to the stake as a heretic, or otherwise suffer an ignominious death? and what profit could result from it?' My dear brothers, hear my answer. Christ the Saviour and Lord of all, whose soldier I am, hath said, *Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, and separate you from their company, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake. Rejoice in that day, and leap for joy, for behold your reward is great in heaven.* Hence learn, that the more my name is branded with infamy in this world for the Lord's sake, the more will it be had in honour in the sight of God himself.—And the same sentiment you ought to form concerning yourselves also.... Whoever therefore would (at last) come to God, and be united with him, must learn to regard God alone and his will, and not his fellow mortals, who, so far from securing the happiness of those that follow them, cannot save them from eternal damnation. They may prevail to kill the body, but the soul they cannot touch. And by doing the former they only bring upon themselves a worse destruction, though they be kings or emperors, bishops, cardinals, or popes..... Christ the Son of God condescended to shed his blood for our salvation: he is a cowardly soldier, therefore, of Christ, and unworthy the name, who would not willingly sacrifice his life for the glory of his Commander; but rather, like one who basely casts away his shield,¹ contemplates disgraceful flight."—He then adverts more particularly to the reproaches cast upon him, and introduces the explanation, before given, respecting the pensions he had formerly

¹ " Rhipsaspis."

received from the pope. He adds some remarks relative to the discourse which he now publishes, and then draws to a conclusion, as follows: "You are my own brothers, born of the same mother, and as such I acknowledge you: if then you will not be my brothers in Christ, and in the matter of faith and religion, I must regret it with the deepest pain and grief; for the sentence of Christ our Saviour requires us to leave such, and to forsake even father and mother who would withdraw us from our faith in him. Rely on the word of God with an unhesitating and assured mind. But know that the word of God is not what every pastor or other ecclesiastic may deliver to you, but what God has attested in the scriptures, and suggests to the mind by one who teaches under the influence of his Spirit. Then there is nothing which you may not promise yourselves from the grace and goodness of God.—Remember also that this life is a vale of trials and tears, not a theatre of joy and pleasures. Think it not then a hardship to bear your share of poverty and suffering, and seek relief by no improper means.¹ Carry all your sorrows and complaints to Christ: pour out your prayers before him; seek from him alone grace, peace, and the remission of sins. Finally, be joined to Christ by such an intimate tie and bond of union, that he may be one with you, and you with him; that you may know that he is your brother, and may speak to him as such: for this alone is true and devout prayer. God grant, that, being received under his guardian care, you may be led by his Spirit, and under his teaching!

¹ He specifies usury and exaction.

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Amen. I will never cease to be your faithful brother, if only you will be the brethren of Christ.—At Zurich, in great haste,¹ in the year of Christ, 1522.”²

Remarks.

All this must command our unmixed admiration and delight. It must lead us to glorify God who hath “given such power unto men,” even to weak mortals like ourselves. But, alas! to what reflections must it lead us of our own spirit and conduct, as compared with such Christian heroes! But God is able still to raise up men of the same temper; yea to elevate us to such a temper, and thus even by our means to work a great “deliverance in the earth.” Let us pray for it: let us hope for it: let us aspire after it.

Dangers of
Zwingle.

The personal dangers to which Zwingle was now exposed were so great, that the magistrates were induced to station a guard at his house. Repeated attempts are said to have been made to poison him. Myconius mentions the following among various plots which were formed to assassinate him. Two monks came late in the evening to his house, and requested to speak with him: when his servant, having desired him not too readily to present himself, stepped forward, and was immediately attacked by the strangers who, on finding their mistake, hastily retreated. Thus did providence protect him, as well as his great fellow-labourer Luther, from the hand of the secret assassin, no less than from open and legalized violence.

His co-
adjutors.

The same good providence continued to raise him up helpers, and to strengthen his hands against the
We have seen the

¹ Raptin.² J. H. Hotter.

REFORMATION, TO A. D. 1522.

Engelhardt took with him. He this year required the assistance of John Stumpf, and also drew to him at Zurich his old friends Leo Jude and Myconius. Stumpf was the earliest historian of Switzerland; and his Chronicle is still held in esteem. He was a native of Bruchsal, near Spire; and received his education at Heidelberg, and Friburg in Brisgau. He took orders at Basle, and was called, in 1522, to the cure of Bubikon in the canton of Zurich, which he served usefully for twenty-nine years. He afterwards became pastor of Wetzikon; and when he found age advancing upon him retired to the city of Zurich, where he died, at the age of sixty-six, in the year 1566.¹—Leo Jude was at Zwingle's instance repeatedly invited from Einsidlin to preach at St. Peter's church in Zurich, the appointment to which was in the hands of the principal parishioners. They felt themselves so much edified by his discourses, that they earnestly pressed him to take the charge of their parish, in the place of their pastor Loeschlin, now become incapable through age.² Myconius, soon after his being driven from Lucerne, was recalled, as we have seen, to Zurich, where he was placed at the head of the academical institution which Zwingle had been the means of establishing there.³ Thus to regain the society of his friend, and to see him, after his troubles, placed in an honourable and useful situation, for which he was peculiarly qualified, was highly gratifying to Zwingle. We have

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108. He was appointed at
not take up his abode at Zurich

16. Gard. ii. 333.

witnessed the spirit of Christian heroism and wisdom in which he had written to Myconius, encouraging him to maintain his post to the last at Lucerne : when it became clear that he must abandon it, he wrote to him, in the same style, not to disquiet himself, or fear being deserted ; but to consider what had befallen him as only affording him “ the occasion of learning to pray for his enemies and calumniators.” He invited him immediately to repair to Zurich, though he had, as yet, no particular situation to propose to him : he would find, at least, agreeable and improving society. His friends would lose no opportunity of serving him ; and, though he was quitting his native place, he must remember the sentence—that “ the man of firmness and resolution will regard every place in which his lot is cast as his native country.” He piously adds, “ For we have here no continuing city ; but we seek one to come.”¹

Zwingle also at this time carried, though not without considerable difficulty, some important measures for the reformation of manners at Zurich. He induced the magistrates to remove from the city all women known to be of loose and

¹ J. H. Hott. vi. 353—355. He says, “ You may serve us in many ways at Zurich, and at the same time improve yourself, for Ceperinus is about to commence lectures in Greek and Hebrew.” And then, in language which shows how much he esteemed the society in which he lived, though it would ill admit of translation, he proceeds : “ *Veneris inter tuos Utingeros, Engelhardos, Rhegios, festivissimos senes ; inter Erasmos, (Schmidt,) Zuinglios, Megardos, viros minime pœnitendos ; inter Grebelios, Amanos, Binderos, candidissimos et doctissimos adolescentes. Aderit etiam tandem, immensis istis viribus suis rugiens, ac justitiam sitiens, Leo, Teucro minor, sed Ajace fortior. Aderit crebrò dulcissimus ille Eremita administrator, (Geroldseck,) omnium pater qui Deum colunt, cum Francisco nostro, (Zingk,) quo nihil vidi lepidius ac amicus.*”

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ndoned character, and to abolish those
lums which the Roman catholic churches
n afforded to all criminals, without distinc-
t. A change was also now made relative to
unnery at Zurich, which, occurring at so
y a period, must be considered as remark-
e. Some of the inhabitants of this convent
lied to the magistrates for leave to quit
r retreat, alleging that they were convinced
y could better consult for the salvation
their souls without its walls, than within
n. The majority, however, of the sister-
d opposed the petition. The magistrates,
a a becoming union of caution and liber-
y, ordered that the society should continue
ether till the following Whitsuntide; and
aged that, in the mean time, their superiors
a in church and state should take care that
y were well instructed as to what might be
r duty. At the expiration of the time, those
o still wished to quit the house were allowed
lo it, and those who remained were placed
ler the pastoral superintendence of Leo-
e.¹ All this demonstrates the great influ-
e which the reformer and his principles
obtained.

a journey which Zwingli at this time took
y be mentioned to his honour. It was to
le, to obtain an interview with Erasmus,
to endeavour to dissuade that learned but
ecided man from writing against Luther,
ch he was much importuned to do by the
e and other high personages. Zwingli
uld fain have prevailed with him not to
act what he had done in favour of the ref-
ion, and have inspired him with courage

Zwingli
visits
Erasmus.¹ Ru. i. 136, 137, &c.

CHAP.
XV.Imprison-
ment of
Wyss.

rather to espouse its cause decidedly and boldly. It is superfluous to add, that his efforts were unavailing.¹

At this period also occurred the first instance of direct violence by which the reformation was opposed in Switzerland. The pastors of a district on the lake of Zurich, assembled at Rapperswyl, came to the unanimous resolution of preaching no doctrine which they could not prove from the scriptures. In consequence of this resolution, John Urban Wyss, pastor of Visisbach, in the county of Baden, preached against the invocation of the saints; and for so doing was thrown into prison. Ruchat, following J. J. Hottinger, says that this was done by order of the cantons; which, with the exception of Zurich, prohibited anew all preaching against the church of Rome, and wrote to the cities of Zurich and Basle (where alone within the limits of the Swiss confederation printing presses were then established,) exhorting them to restrain the printing of *new* books. He adds, that Wyss's parishioners interceded for him, and obtained his release by the payment of a hundred guilders. But Scultetus says it was the bishop of Constance who imprisoned him: and we shall hereafter find that that prelate certainly held him in custody in the following year.²

Progress of
the refor-
mation.

Basle.

While these things were taking place in connexion with Zurich, the seeds of reformation began to shoot forth in other parts of Switzerland, though they were frequently checked by an unkindly soil and climate. At Basle William Reublin, a
Neckar, and past

¹ Ru. i. 134-5. .²

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that within the lapse of a year from the time when Zwingli had commenced the reformation of the church of Zurich, a schoolmaster of Coire became his correspondent, and informed him that his name was well known to many in that country, who approved his doctrine and were weary of the simony of the church of Rome. He soon after received a letter to the same purport from the chief magistrate of Mayenfeld, within the league of the Ten Jurisdictions. About the year 1521, James Burkli of Zurich is said to have preached the gospel, first at Flesch and afterwards at Mayenfeld. At the latter place he entered into conference with Christian Anhorn, the treasurer of the town, a man of eminence, who, being by his means led to embrace the truth, afterwards supported him with all his credit, and defended him against his enemies. The next year we read of James Salandroni, Conrad, pastor of Davos, and James Biveroni, surnamed Tuschell, or Tuschet, being embarked in the same cause. Biveroni is a celebrated character, who rendered great services to the churches of his country, not only by preaching, but by translating the scriptures into the language of Upper Engadina—a dialect of the Romansh, in which it would seem that no work had previously been published.¹

Berne.

Haller has been mentioned as the reformer of Berne, where he took up his residence in the year 1520.² His labours there were attended with success, but he encountered much opposition; for the Bernese were originally much devoted to the see of Rome. Haller, we observed, was naturally timid; and we find him at this time so much affected with the

¹ M'Crie's Italy, 313. Ruchat, i. 92-3, 130. Coxe, Let. 90.

² Above, p. 382.

culties of his situation, as to entertain
 ous thoughts of quitting it. Zwingli wrote
 im, December 28, 1521, urging him not
 ink of deserting his flock, and describing
 him his own conflicts, and the manner
 which he had found his courage revived,
 his resolution strengthened. At the same
 he gave him the most temperate and
 lent counsel. "Do you yourself," he says,
 ecute boldly what you apply to me to do
 you; that your fierce bears"—alluding to
 arms of Berne, in which the bear is con-
 ous—"may be tamed by the gospel of
 st. You must proceed, however, with
 t mildness and gentleness: for that will
 do with you which will with us. The ears
 our people are more delicate; and therefore
 t not be addressed in so pungent a manner.
 st himself suggests to us counsel of this
 , when he says, *Cast not your pearls before
 e, lest they turn again and rend you*, and
 minds of many be for ever prejudiced
 nst the gospel. You must treat them,
 efore, with caution, and bear their rude-
 , till, overcome by your patience and
 everance, they put off their fierceness.
 r sets us the example, saying, *I wot that
 ough ignorance ye did it*: and Paul, in
 ing those with milk, who were not able to
 strong meat. All the apostles likewise
 nitted patiently to harsh treatment; not
 oaching the council, when they were
 en with stripes. They did not, however,
 e to preach. Thus I intreat you *to become
 things to all men*, lest, along with you,
 st also should be driven away.... And,
 e my name is in bad repute among your
 le, bear that also, lest your own reputation

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Corres-
 pondence
 of Zwingli
 and Haller.

with me should suffer by your refusing to do it."

This letter Haller acknowledged with warmest expressions of gratitude. It fortified his mind, he said, against a species of trial. Without it, he believed he should have given up his ministry, and resorted to Basle to pursue his studies in quiet. "I he proceeds, "roused by your delightful letter I have resumed my courage, and have persuaded myself, by the aid of your truly Christian exhortation, that it is better, even in times of calamity, to preach the gospel, to bury myself in learned studies, be what they may; till, by the power of working mightily with his word, I prove means of bringing back Christ, who has been excluded and banished from amongst us monkish fooleries."¹

Thus was the correspondence of these good and good men improved to the mutual "strengthening of each other's hands in God. Thus does God raise and confirm the minds of his fainting servants by means of one another. And of such happy effects may a seasonable sentences, uttered in simplicity of heart, and committed to the divine blessing, be productive. Let no Christian despair of helping, in this manner, even the most honoured of his brethren. None above the need of such assistance: none too feeble to become God's instrument in communicating it.

Berne lay within the diocese of Lausanne and soon after this time the bishop, a

Opposition
of the
bishop of
Lausanne.

¹ Epist. C. et Z. 190. Zuing. Op. i. 415. Ge Doc. No. 13. Further extracts will be given from Zwingli's letter hereafter.

se manners and devoted to his plea-
acting perhaps in concert with his
r of Constance, wrote to the lords
rne, to the same purport as we have
that the latter prelate did to those
ric, calling upon them to put down the
ers of the new doctrine. Haller and
ethren, after the example of Zwingli,
d to the bishop's letter, but their answer
ot been preserved. The hostility now
sted by the Roman-catholic clergy,
ated by the mandate of their bishop, was
ne. They tore the books of the reformers
the hands of the people; endeavoured
st the characters of the authors by the
t calumnies; and even demanded of the
trates that the sacraments and the rites
rial should be refused to those who read
ngelical books," or opposed the doctrines
church of Rome. The hands of Haller,
er, were now strengthened by the co-
ion of Sebastian Meyer,¹ who, as a reader
fessor of divinity among the Franciscans,
ed on S. Paul's epistles, and from the
preached on the several articles of the

They were also, in common, encou-
amid their difficulties by finding that
ad the support of several members of the
sign council, some canons of the cathedral,
numerous body of the citizens; and
Valerius Anselm, a physician, is par-
mentioned.²

event soon after occurred in
bourhood of Berne, which, in it
contributed much to the success
ed. George Brunner, curate to the

ove, p. 382.

. i. 96, 107-8, 118-9, 126-7, 145-6, 223.

of Musingen, had in a sermon represented the pope as Antichrist. He soon after obtained the living of Hœnstetten, where many persons from the surrounding parishes were attracted to hear him : which reduced the offerings made to the ministers of those parishes. Indignant at the loss thus suffered, the dean, (his late rector,) in concurrence with the chamberlain of the chapter and some others of the clergy, applied to the lords of Berne to remove Brunner to some other situation. They refused to inflict such an implied censure upon him, without previously hearing him in his own defence : and, as he offered to maintain his doctrine from the scriptures, they ordered that he should do this in the presence of certain ecclesiastics. A pressure of other business, however, causing some delay, the dean informed the council that he had received orders from the bishop of Constance to send Brunner to him. The council would not permit such an interference in a case which was already before them for adjudication ; and they appointed a commission of seven members of their own body, and seven divines of Berne, to whom they added Dr. Wyttenbach of Bienne, and Benedict Steiner, dean of Burgdorff, to hear the cause. The latter we shall find, at least a little before this time, opposed to the reformation. The dean of Musingen, with four members of his chapter, in consequence presented against Brunner twelve articles, drawn from his sermons, relating to the pope, the consecration of priests, the mass, and other points. The proceedings took place with open doors ; and Brunner explained and vindicated his doctrine on all these heads. Under each of them he paused, and asked his opponents whether they

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ny thing to object, or to offer in reply; they observed a profound silence, alleging they had not come thither to dispute. The commissioners then desired the ecclesiastical ones to consider two questions, 1. whether Brunner had sufficiently justified himself, 2. whether he might properly be allowed to retain his situation. To both questions returned affirmative answers; and they at the same time besought the lords, that, if any proceedings were taken in the case, they would not permit them to be removed from Berne. Both the decision and the prayer were approved by the council, and the dean of Basle was condemned in the costs of it.¹—Instances like this shewed strikingly the freedom and independence of the Swiss cantons; how much the church of Rome was restrained in the exercise of her usurped prerogatives under such governments; and, last add, how much she had recently lost of that mysterious veneration in which she had been held.

Similar attempts in favour of reformation, not with the same successful issue, were made in Lucerne—which still continues the chief of the Roman-catholic cantons of Switzerland. An annual procession, followed by a Latin oration, was observed at the town of Lucerne, in commemoration of a great fire which had happened there. In the year 1522, Hans Fabricius, or Schmidt, commander or defender of Kunsnacht,² on the lake of Zurich,

Lucerne.

¹ i. 146—149. Gerd. ii. 238.

² shall afterwards frequently meet with the name of this person as a promoter of the reformation. His office was ecclesiastical, but its title was derived from his connexion with the Teutonic knights: "Teutonicus ordinis."

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being present at this solemnity, was called upon to deliver the oration; which he did, not in the Latin, but in the German language, that it might be generally understood; and he directed his discourse against indulgences, pilgrimages, and the authority of the pope, and taught clearly the doctrine of the grace of God in Christ. He was eagerly listened to at the time; but his doctrine was afterwards assailed from the pulpit by the pastor of the town. About the same time a priest of Lucerne having seduced a married woman, and then killed her husband when he reclaimed her, Justus Kilchmeyer, a canon of the place, preached against the prohibition of marriage to the clergy, as the true source of such atrocities: but the consequence was, that the year following he was compelled to resign his canonry and quit the town. Sebastian Hoffman also, of Strasburg, a Minorite monk, having preached at Lucerne against the invocation of the saints, was excommunicated by the bishop of the diocese, and forced to betake himself to flight. He retired to Schaffhausen, where we shall afterwards find him usefully employed. It was at this time also that Myconius was dismissed.¹

Zug.

In the canton of Zug, Bartholomew Stocker, Werner Steiner, and Justus Müller are mentioned as labouring with faithfulness and patience, amid opposition and discouragement. Steiner is known as the author of a history of the reformation. He was also one of the translators of the Swiss German Bible.²

Commendator," he is called in Zuing. Op. ii. 228: but "commander" is his more usual appellation.

¹ Ru. i. 108—110, 129. J. H. Hott. vi. 351—356. Gerd. ii. 230, 231.

² J. H. Hott. vi. 369—371. Ru. i. 110. Gerd. ii. 243-4.

Sebastian Hoffman, it has been just stated, on quitting Lucerne, removed to Schaffhausen. He and Sebastian Hoffmeister,¹ both of them Franciscans, there laboured harmoniously together, the former preaching in the cathedral, the latter in the church of his order, and proved the instruments of permanently establishing the reformation.²

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Schaffhausen.

In the canton of Appenzel, the writings of Luther and other reformers produced so powerful an effect, as to excite no less a number than twenty-six ecclesiastics, at this early period, to avow similar sentiments. James Schurtanner (or Ceraunelateus) was particularly distinguished, both on account of his age, his learning, his piety, and his general weight of character. Zwingle dedicated to him, in 1524, his book on the sacred office, intitled "Pastor;" highly commending his faith and diligence, and expressing great joy at the progress of the gospel in Appenzel. It may be remarked, that by much the greater part of this canton to the present day professes the reformed faith. The names also of Walter Klarer, John Dœring, and Pelagius Amstein are distinguished among the reformers of Appenzel. The last-mentioned person exerted himself zealously in the reformation of the Rheinthal and Tockenbourg.³

Appenzel.

At Friburg, which ultimately rejected the reformation, several persons of influence were at this time found to plead its cause. The names of Peter Falck, or Fauçon, an eminent magistrate, John Houliard, canon, and afterwards dean, John Van, chantor, and John Kother,

Friburg.

¹ Above, p. 383.

² J. H. Hott. vi. 396—400. Ru. i. 113, 114, 152-3. Gerd. ii. 249, 250.

³ Ru. i. 114. Gerd. ii. 247.

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XV.

Soleure.

organist of the cathedral, have been handed down to us, as of this description.¹

At Soleure, which, like Friburg, continues a Roman-catholic canton, Zwingli had at this time partizans; particularly Melchior Macrinus, a man of learning, and secretary to the government. In the year 1522, Macrinus entered into a discussion with some priests, and the dean of Burgdorff, at the convent of Fraubrunnen, in the canton of Berne. The dean made Macrinus's too great acquaintance with the Greek language a matter of complaint against him—we may suppose, on account of the inconvenience it occasioned him, and of his not being himself overcharged with this kind of learning. The principal subjects of dispute were, the mass, and the power of the priests to offer a propitiatory sacrifice therein. Macrinus would acknowledge no sacrificing priest but Jesus Christ, nor any other propitiatory sacrifice than that which *he* had offered, on the cross. The priests in consequence threatened to proceed against him on a charge of heresy. But it is remarkable that the magistrates of Soleure interfered on his behalf, and proposed, if the parties could not agree, to call in the aid of Zwingli and other learned men to decide between them. In the end, Meyer, of Berne, supported Macrinus so vigorously, that the affair terminated much to the satisfaction of the latter; and he wrote to Zwingli with great animation, assuring the reformer that they had many persons at Soleure who concurred in their sentiments.²

Reflections.

Thus, on its revival at the reformation, its first promulgation in the w

¹ J. H. Hot. vi. 390—396. Ru. i. 150,¹

² J. H. Hot. vi. 385, &c. Ru. i. 15

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1522.

was every where opposed and persecuted, but every where made converts, and was attended with success, in a greater or less degree. Offensive as it may be to the prejudices and corrupt propensities of mankind, it has that in ; which "commends itself to every man's conscience, as in the sight of God." And, just as at its first propagation the superstitions and dominations of heathenism fell before it, so did the mummeries and impostures, and, we must add, the idolatries of popery shew themselves unable to stand against it, when it was restored, and preached anew, with a measure of the same blessing of heaven accompanying it. Nay, the delusions which had prevailed did but prepare many the more thankfully to welcome the "great light" which thus arose upon them: for, though weak, erring, and depraved human nature readily admits the impostures which "the god of this world" practises upon it, and, even when it groans under their effects, is not able "to deliver itself, or say, *Is there not a lie in my right hand?*" yet, when God himself arises to its aid, and sets his truth before men, they cannot but do homage to its superior excellence, and confess it to be infinitely more worthy of their regard, than that which had hitherto engrossed them. "What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord. Is not my word like as a fire? and like the hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?" There will indeed always be those who will withstand it—but it is to be feared, a great many who will love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil;" "in a world which hath blinded the eyes of many, it is not, lest the light should be taken away from them."

of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them:" but God also will himself provide, wherever he sends his word, men of another stamp, to whom the gospel shall prove "the power of God unto salvation." His word "shall not return unto him void, but shall accomplish that which he pleaseth, and shall prosper in the thing whereto he sendeth it." To some, indeed, it becomes "the savour of death unto death;" but to others it is "the savour of life unto life." Be it our care, each for himself, that we may be found among the latter class. And for this end let it be our continual prayer, that "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, would shine into our hearts;" and, purging thence all carnal and corrupt affections, which blind and bewilder the mind, would "give us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ," that we may be "changed into his image from glory to glory," till at length we come to "his presence, where is fulness of joy, and pleasures at his right hand for evermore." Amen!

CHAPTER XVI.

DISPUTATIONS OF ZURIC.—PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION TO THE YEAR 1525.

THE commencement of the year 1523 was marked by the occurrence of the first of those public disputations, or discussions, which so materially advanced the progress of the reformation in Switzerland. Zwingle finding himself more and more assailed, especially by the Dominican friars, with the charges of heresy, and of teaching principles subversive of the church, and of the good order of society, addressed himself to the supreme council of Zurich, requesting that the subject might be brought to a hearing before them. He represented that he was perfectly willing, and even desirous, to submit his doctrine to examination; and that, if it could be proved erroneous, he would retract it: that, if the charges brought against him could be substantiated, he refused not to submit to the consequences: but that it was incompatible with his peace, and the peace of the citizens, and also with the honour of the council, as the

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First Disputation
of Zurich.

¹ The populace, it seems, often went the length of giving the lie to the Roman-catholic teachers in the street, or could they be restrained from doing this by the punishments inflicted upon them. Ruchat, i. 157-8.

patrons, that such charges should be perpetually circulated, without ever being brought forward in a tangible shape, so that he could meet and fairly grapple with them, or be confronted with their authors. Only one thing he stipulated—that the appeal should be made only to the scriptures, as the sole rule of judgment, and not to mere custom, or the traditions of men. The council in consequence took up the case; appointed a meeting to be held in their public hall, or senate house, on the twenty-ninth of January, and called upon all persons, who had any thing to allege against the doctrine or conduct of the chief pastor, to come forward and make their allegations, and to support them without fear. They invited the attendance of the clergy of the canton, generally; and addressed a special request to the diocesan, the bishop of Constance, to be present, either personally or by his representatives; and another to the diet of the cantons, then assembled at Baden, soliciting them to send deputies to assist on the occasion.

It is to be observed, that the question which Zwingle proposed to submit to the council was not, generally, the truth or falsehood of the doctrine, (for we shall see that he disclaimed all human authority to pronounce definitively upon that,) but only whether he could be proved to have taught such unscriptural tenets, or to have been guilty of such other misconduct, as rendered him unworthy of their support; and whether therefore he should be silenced, or should be protected against insult and injury. No doubt also he sought the opportunity of making his real principles more known, and of bringing the arguments which they were defended, as well

weakness of those reasonings which his adversaries could urge against them, before numbers whom he could not otherwise reach; leaving the whole under the divine blessing, to work its effects on the minds of the auditors.

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In order that it might be fully understood what were the doctrines which he proposed to maintain, and that none might plead that they were taken by surprise at the discussion, he comprised the whole in sixty-seven brief Articles, which he published a sufficient time before the day of meeting.¹

Zwingle's
sixty-seven
Articles.

It is highly observable, that precisely at this period, in the interval between the issuing of the summons by the council, and the meeting taking place, the pope, Adrian VI, who had succeeded Leo X. a year before,) addressed to Zwingle, to his friend Francis Zingg of Einsidlin, and to the burgomaster of Zurich, highly flattering letters, holding out to them the hopes of receiving distinguishing marks of his favour. What was the design of letters of this description, written to such persons and at such a juncture, there can be little room to doubt. They availed not, however, either to cajole, or in any other way to bend to the purposes of the pope, the leaders of the Swiss reformation. Zwingle openly spoke of the pope as having endeavoured to buy him off by bribes, and seemed only the more animated to urge forward the great work he had undertaken; and he henceforward more decidedly than before denounced the papacy as Antichrist.²

Pope's
Briefs to
Zwingle
and others.

¹ Zuing. Op. i. fo. 1, 2. Gerd. i. Doc. No. 23.

² Ru. i. 161. Mycon. p. 5, 6. M. Adam. The pope's letter or brief is dated Jan. 23. This is the "decisive testimony" on which Dr. Milner.

CHAP.
XVI.Mark
Reust.The
Meeting.

The burgomaster of Zurich, here referred to, Mark Reust, was a person of very high character; so much so as to be honoured by Bullinger, who wrote an account of his life, with the title of "Father of his country." Though he had a son at this time a captain in the pope's body-guard, and had himself been specially favoured by Julius II, as well as by the reigning pontiff, he was a zealous and consistent supporter of the reformation.¹

At the time appointed the council assembled, and the parties summoned attended. The bishop of Constance was represented by five persons of eminence, at the head of whom were the chevalier d'Anweil, intendant of his household, and Faber, his grand vicar. All the clergy of the city and canton, with many others from more distant parts, were present, and a numerous company of other persons of various descriptions. The "Acts," or Proceedings of the meeting, translated into Latin, are given at length in the works of

the priority of Luther or Zwingle as a reformer, relies, as proving "how very far the latter must have been from any thing like a rupture with the papists even in the year 1523." Milner, v. 538. (1140.) I have before intimated that I could build no such conclusion upon it. And, after what we have seen, I trust it will be evident to the reader, that, had Dr. M. lived to go forward with his work, and consider the circumstances under which the brief of Adrian was issued, he would have perceived that it bore a very different character than he supposed, and warranted no such inferences as he drew from it. It seems, with the other letters which accompanied it, to have been a mere ruse to prevent or neutralize the threatened discussion: or, if it had any more serious character, and implied any hope on the part of Adrian that he might still gain Zwingle, it cannot, after the abundant proof which has appeared to the contrary, be admitted to shew that he still kept terms with the papists.

¹ J. H. Hottinger, vii. 633—638.

DISPUTATIONS OF ZURIC.

Zwingle;¹ and from them the following abstract is drawn.

The burgomaster Reust, who, as head of the council, presided, opened the meeting by an address in conformity with the summons by which it had been called. He adverted to the great differences which had arisen on the all-important subject of religion, and to the mutual recriminations of the two parties. He particularly noticed the heavy charges brought against Zwingle by his opponents; the degree in which the minds of the people were unsettled; and the desire the council felt to terminate these discords. For this purpose he invited all persons who were inclined to do it to speak their sentiments; specially desiring that, if any one thought he could, from the holy scriptures, convict the chief pastor (who was there to answer for himself,) of having taught erroneous and dangerous doctrine, he would not fail to make the attempt; pledging himself that the utmost freedom of speech, that could reasonably be desired, should be allowed.

The chevalier d'Anweil, as one of the bishop's representatives, then rose, and said, that the bishop, having heard with great pain of the discordant sentiments which prevailed in Zurich, in common with other parts of his diocese, had deputed him and his colleagues, in compliance with the invitation of the council

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and
Dis
Jan

¹ Zuing. Op. 607—623. Gerdes (i. 279,) that in Fueslin's Collection of documents of the Reformation (ii. 81—150,) an account of this given, composed by a zealous Romanist, a canon of Lucerne, who was present; which, though sufficiently of the partialities of the author, substantially with the Acts here referred to.

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XVI.

Address of
Zwingle :

ascertain, on his (the bishop's) behalf, the real state of the case, and, in the most mild and friendly manner, to use their best endeavours to compose the existing differences.

Zwingle then addressed the assembly. He referred to the corruptions which he could not but see had overspread the church : “ the light of the divine word had been obscured, and all but extinguished, by the traditions of men ; so that there was nothing with which the far greater part of professed Christians were less acquainted than they were with the revealed will of God : they were taken up with a worship devised by men, a fictitious and false sanctity, an outward shew of religion, which they were taught to rely on as recommending them to God ; while the only safety and consolation of mankind, derived from the merits of Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, and not from our own merits or observances, were disregarded.” He complained, that pious and good men, who endeavoured to instruct their brethren in the genuine gospel of Christ, drawn from his word through the grace of the Holy Spirit, were treated, not as faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, but as heretics, and enemies of the church. He then adverted to his own case. For five years past he had taught at Zurich ; and his conscience bore him witness that he had aimed to teach nothing but the pure gospel of Christ, as delivered in the sacred scriptures : but how was he treated ? denounced as a seducer, a liar, a heretic, a rebel. He wished therefore to give an account of his doctrine publicly, before the senate of his country, his diocesan, and the whole world, and to hear whatever could be alleged against it—thankful to be corrected if he were in error, but prepared

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maintain what he apprehended to be the truth. And all this he was ready to do any where else as well as at Zurich—at Constance itself, provided a proper safe-conduct were wanted him. He concluded by referring to the articles which he had published, as containing a summary of his doctrines.

When Zwingle closed, Faber rose, and in an official and courtier-like speech lamented the friendships of which “his brother” Zwingle complained: doubted not that he had faithfully preached the gospel at Zurich—“for who, that had been ordained by God to the ministry of the word, could do otherwise than preach the doctrine of the holy gospels and of the apostle Paul?” He himself had done the same, and would ever do so, as far as the more special services confided to him by his master (the bishop) would permit. With reference to Zwingle’s offer to appear at Constance, he could only assure him, that, should any thing call him to that city, he would find himself welcomed as a friend and a brother. For himself, he certainly had not now been sent to Zurich to impugn or obstruct the preaching of the gospel: but only, if any persons had taught what was contrary to it, or were thought to have done so, to be informed of the facts, and to do what in him lay to terminate the differences thence arising. If any wished to attack “ancient rites and ceremonies, or customs handed down to us through long series of ages,” he must explicitly avow that he should engage in no dispute with those persons: for, in his opinion, all such questions ought to be referred to a general council of the universal church—which they had now reason to suppose would be held in the course of the

of Faber.

present or the ensuing year.¹ To that assembly he earnestly recommended them to refer all points of that kind. If they were to be discussed in any other place than a general council, it ought at least to be in some renowned university, such as that of Paris, Cologne, or Louvain.—As Faber said this, Zwingle suggested, “Suppose at Erfurt or Wittemberg?” Faber replied, “By no means: they are too near to Luther.”

Zwingle's
reply.

Zwingle was not to be diverted from his purpose by the plausible address of Faber. He complained of the vicar general's speech as evasive, and calculated to overawe their minds by the plea of antiquity: but the question was, not what had been long practised or received, but what could stand the test of scripture. As to the hope of seeing a free and satisfactory council, it was vain to indulge it. A council could not be assembled within the time proposed: one that should be free, and governed by the word of God, would not be granted. The bishops, who would compose it, were not like the primitive bishops—they were more properly secular princes: and was nothing to be done for the relief of disquieted consciences till their deliberations should be finished? He doubted not that there were in the present assembly numerous individuals governed by the Spirit of God. Through the divine goodness, they had resident in Zurich more persons skilled in the original Greek and Hebrew scriptures, than could be found in any one of the universities which had been mentioned: and besides these there were now collected together many learned divines, many persons

¹ It was twenty-three years from this time before the council of Trent met, and forty-one before it terminated.

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used in the canon law, and many distinguished members of different universities: and

the table were laid the scriptures in the original languages: to them let the appeal be made. He urged, therefore, and called upon his fellow-citizens to demand, that an investigation should now take place.

A profound silence followed this address. After waiting some time, the burgomaster rose, and repeated the request, that any person who had aught to allege against Zwingle or his doctrines would come forward: but no one presented himself. Zwingle then solemnly,

in the name of truth and Christian charity, called upon those, who had propagated charges against him, now to support them; declaring that if they continued silent he should challenge them by name.

Still no one opened his mouth. Zwingle repeated his threat: and, silence still continuing, James Carpentarius, or Wagner,¹ a minister of the canton, rose, and, reminding them of the recent mandate of the bishop, joining that they should retain all customs and ceremonies which had been observed in the church, remarked that Zwingle, in his published articles, had virtually and forcibly failed this injunction, by denying the authority of human traditions; and yet no one now ventured to defend it, or to repel the attack. They must therefore think themselves at liberty to neglect the order that had been issued.—He adverted also pointedly to the case

Carpentarius's
address.

Wyss,² the pastor of Visisbach, whom the diet assembled at Baden had sent to the bishop of Constance, and who was now in prison.

(Carpentarius
Wyss)¹ Ruchat, i. 165.² Above, p. 418.

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under the authority of that prelate. Either, he said, Wyss must be unjustly imprisoned, or Zwingle's propositions must be indefensible: and, if they would not have the former believed, they must demonstrate the latter. He wished, for his own part, to know to what conclusion he ought to come, and what course he was in future to pursue.

Faber

This called up the vicar general. He vindicated the bishop's edict; (though, he said, he had himself been absent on business when it was issued:) it was called for by the state of the times, when ignorant teachers preached to the people doctrines, which tended more to insubordination and sedition than to Christian edification. With respect to Wyss, he himself had had frequent conferences with him; and had found him, though a simple-minded, yet a very ignorant man: so much so that it would be insulting the present assembly to repeat to them some of his answers. He had induced him to retract certain of his errors. Particularly he had convinced him *from scripture* of his error in denying the invocation of "the mother of God and the saints:" and he hoped he would soon be set at liberty upon a general recantation.

commits
himself.Invocation
of saints.

Here Faber had been guilty of a fatal oversight: he had made himself a party in the dispute, and that upon the most untenable of all grounds. Zwingle failed not instantly to avail himself of his declaration, that he had convinced Wyss "from scripture" of the doctrine of the invocation of the saints. Henceforth all the efforts of Zwingle and his friends were directed to draw from Faber a reference to the passages of *scripture* which he had established so *man*

of the Romish creed. But their exertions had little success. Faber was so sensible of the false step he had made, that he scrupled not to say, "I see that that has happened to me which is said of the fool, He is entangled in his own words." Still he evaded the solicitations with which he was pressed; acknowledged his own want of acquaintance with the original languages of the scriptures; and launched out into copious disquisitions concerning fathers and councils, canons and customs. He admitted Jesus Christ to be the supreme Mediator: but others were "the lower steps of the ladder," by which he, for his part, was glad to ascend to that which was highest. "Others might believe what they would, but he firmly relied on the intercession of the Queen of heaven, the Virgin Mother of God."

Zwingle denied that the usages of which they complained were of such antiquity as Faber represented; shewed how they were gradually introduced in later ages, so as to supersede the more ancient usages of the church; and withal told him, that they did not wish to draw from him a confession of his faith, but simply the mention of those passages of scripture by which he had convinced Wye. On this point, however, he would not utter a syllable.

Some discussion was incidentally introduced of the prohibition of marriage to the clergy at the time of which Hoffman had been a monk. He said that he would not positively assert of any order, the history of Constance and even the famous party in setting the course of the reformation

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of the saints; and since he now heard the vicar general assert that that doctrine might be proved from scripture, he most earnestly conjured him to favour them by pointing out, as he had been so repeatedly requested to do, the passages by which it might be established. He himself would acknowledge this as a personal obligation, for he sincerely desired to be set right where he might be wrong. No answer however was obtained.

Leo Jude.

Leo Jude then stated, that he had been lately elected a minister of Zurich, and was about to take up his abode there:¹ that he purposed, by the grace of God assisting, to spare no pains in preaching to the people the truth of God's word; but that he must candidly confess, that he should shew little respect for the mass of ceremonies and usages, mere human inventions, as he esteemed them, which had been introduced into the worship of God, and often confounded with the very appointments of the gospel itself: that these had been impugned and exposed in the propositions of his friend, Zwingle; and no one was now found to vindicate them! Among these he at present must reckon the practice of invoking the saints, and seeking their intercession for us: he begged therefore to add his earnest solicitations to the many others which had been offered to the vicar general,² entreating that he would be pleased to point out the passages of scripture, which might prevent his teaching erroneous doctrine to the people.

Faber's
proofs
of the
invocation
of saints.

Faber now complained of the number of persons by whom, in succession, he was assailed; and, being again urged by Zwingle, for

¹ Above, p. 415.² "Multam diuque rogatus."

egged him not thus to trifle with the meeting and with his own reputation, he proceeded to mention his scriptural proofs. They were the following: the words of the Virgin herself,

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All generations shall call me blessed:" the address of Elizabeth to her, "Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" and the exclamation of the Roman, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps that thou hast sucked."¹ Zwingle here interposed the remark, "We called for testimonies, not to the sanctity and dignity of Mary, but to the *intercession* and *invocation* of the saints:" and Faber, finding his authorities only provoke a smile, said, "If what I say is esteemed empty and foolish, I have only to sit down in silence:" which he accordingly did.

Another member of the bishop's deputation then spoke, and Zwingle answered him: after which Hoffman ventured to exhort the council manfully to support the preaching of the evangelical or reformed doctrine, since it appeared that no one present had any thing of weight to urge against it. This gave much offence to Faber.—Meyer² then rose and expressed himself to the following effect: "I cannot but ardently commend your wisdom, venerable lords, in that you have thought proper, by your public edicts, to countenance the preaching of the gospel in your territories: and I praise Almighty God who has inclined our hearts so to do. I also implore of him, that he will never suffer you to draw back from your pious and holy purpose: but that he will rather confirm your minds with such

Concluding
addresses of
Hoffman

and Meyer.

¹ Fo. 617.

consolation, strength, and resolution, that no earthly powers, whether popes or emperors, may ever overawe you; and that, at this present time, you may come to such a conclusion as shall advance the true worship of God, and conduce to your own eternal honour. Never be moved by the consideration that, compared with many surrounding nations, you are but a feeble state; but rather reflect, that God commonly chooses the weak and feeble, by whom to communicate to the world the knowledge of his truth and will, while he hides it from the wise and prudent. Fear not them, therefore, who can kill the body, but cannot hurt the soul.—Neither let it disturb you, that the whole host of popes, prelates, and sophisters fiercely oppose the truth: for it is the will and purpose of God to expose the folly of the wise in this world, and to promulgate his gospel by means of those who are esteemed foolish. Hold fast then the word of God: and it shall be my part earnestly to commend your zeal to the imitation of the church at Berne.”¹

Nothing else of importance passed: and the burgomaster, having renewed the invitation to all persons to speak, who had any thing to offer relating to the present inquiry, and no one presenting himself, dismissed the assembly, with the exception of the members of the council. These remained, and deliberated on the resolution to which they should come; which, having been agreed upon, was communicated to the whole company, assembled again in the afternoon for the purpose, in a decree to the following effect: “That, whereas it had been arranged a year ago with the representa-

¹ Fo. 618 (b).

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tives of the bishop of Constance, that he should convene the clergy of his diocese to consider of some settlement of the controversies which had arisen on the subject of religion, and to point out the course which might be most safely adopted, but nothing had yet been done in that behalf—while in the mean time the controversies only increased; this being the case, the burgomaster, council, and people of Zuric had determined to hold the present meeting, which was attended by the deputies of the bishop, and the clergy of this and the neighbouring districts, for the purpose of hearing what those had to allege, who mutually charged each other with error and heresy: That since no one had come forward to substantiate any accusation against their preacher and antistes, Ulric Zwingle—though numbers had previously reproached him as a heretic, and though he had submitted his doctrine to examination in propositions or articles duly published, and had challenged any one to convict him of error—therefore the said burgomaster, council, and people of Zuric decreed and confirmed, that the said Ulric Zwingle should go on to declare and preach the holy doctrine of the gospel, and the oracles of the word of God, as he had heretofore done; and that all persons should abstain from criminating one another as heretics and offenders, on pain of such penalties as should shew the sense which the government of the country entertained of their misconduct. Dated at Zuric 29 January, 1523."

On hearing the decree Zwingle, in an act of devotion said, "We praise thee, O Lord, who wilt that the word should reign alike in all hearts."

earth." Then, addressing himself to the council: "And on you, venerable lords, the same Lord of all will bestow that strength and determination of mind, which will be necessary for supporting and advancing the doctrine of the divine word throughout your territories: and doubt not that the Lord God will abundantly reward this your present act. Amen."

Faber,

Faber made no direct remark on the decree: but he pledged himself to prove to the most learned universities, that many things had passed that day contrary to the ancient and approved rules of the church, the constitutions and decrees of the holy pontiffs and fathers, and the practice of the whole Christian world: and having, he said, since the meeting in the forenoon, read, for the first time, the Articles of Zwingle, he engaged to demonstrate the same things concerning them. Zwingle welcomed the pledge, as "what he had been longing to hear given."

and
Zwingle,on a judge
of contro-
versies.

A public conversation of some length then followed between Faber and Zwingle, in which the former, now when the business was terminated, began to quote scripture in proof of his tenets; and, speaking on the favourite doctrine of the Romish church, the necessity of a judge authoritatively to decide in matters of controversy, he addressed to Zwingle the question, intended no doubt to be embarrassing, considering in what place, and in whose presence, it was put, "Would he agree to refer the points in dispute to the council of Zurich as judges?" Zwingle, who was not to be taken by surprise, replied, "In external things, the affairs of this world, I readily admit the necessity of a judge whose decision shall be final, and there is no that I would prefer to the lords of Zurich: |

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in questions which concern the wisdom and truth of God, I can admit none to decide but the word of God himself, and the Spirit speaking by that word." He evidently implied, that each man, having the testimonies of God's word brought before him, must follow the convictions of his own conscience as to the result of those testimonies: and no further decision than this was allowed in the present, or in any of the discussions that followed.—A parish priest here asked, "What was to be done by a clergyman, whose benefice was so small as not to admit of his purchasing a New Testament?"—avowing that this was his own case. Such a question, so proposed, must be understood to imply, what was the undoubted fact, that many of the clergy were destitute of the scriptures even of the New Testament.

At the close, Faber shocked the meeting, and incurred the marked rebuke of Zwingle, by asking, with indecent levity, "How it could be proved from the scriptures alone, that a man might not marry his own daughter?"¹ and observing, that "had the scriptures never been given, we yet might have lived together on peaceable and friendly terms!"²

The adherents of Rome, I presume, would pretend that this whole affair of the disputation was nothing more, than an artful contrivance of Zwingle's to draw attention and give popularity to his cause, and, perhaps it will be added, to entrap and insult the representatives of the diocesan. But that it should have

Justifica-
tion of
Zwingle.

¹ Zwingle very properly replied, that, in remote degrees of consanguinity being permitted, more was it in the very first degree.

² Acta, ubi supra. J. H. Hottinger, *op. cit.* p. 157—173. Gerd. i. 278—280. De P. & C. p. 10.

could not have arisen, much less have been foreseen, except from the badness of the cause which his opponents had to maintain, or from their mismanagement of it. But for one or both of these reasons, the event might have been the very reverse of what is assumed in this argument. It can never be shewn, that Zwingle lay under no necessity of publicly vindicating himself from the aspersions cast upon both his character and his doctrines: or that he was not goaded into this measure, as he professes himself to have been, for that purpose.—Nor can it be said, that he did not bring the case fairly to issue. The meeting was publicly proclaimed to all the world, and none were excluded from it: umpires of unimpeachable character and authority presided: competent advocates were, or might have been, present on one side as well as on the other: every encouragement was given, and sufficiently pointed challenges were addressed, to the accusers of the reformer to prefer their charges: no complaint of unfair dealing was or could be alleged: yet the attempt was scarcely made to defend the papal doctrines, or to impugn those which were opposed to them—though the consequences of such omission, both to the one side and to the other, must have been obvious.—As to insulting the bishop through his representatives; when the discussion was proposed by Zwingle and appointed by the government of Zurich, it must have been deemed improbable, rather than the contrary, that they should be present. Faber, indeed, and his colleagues could not be expected to take the part of disputants; and, in the complaints urged against them for not doing this by some of the historians, I conceive they have not been fairly treated:

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they must be considered rather as assessors with the council in hearing the cause, than as parties committed in it: but surely it shewed an extraordinary sense of weakness on that side of the question, that none could be found to maintain it against the reformers.—If the whole were an artifice of Zwingli's, how came it to escape the detection of his many, and powerful, and sagacious adversaries? Why was he suffered so completely to out-general the bishop, the papacy, and all its adherents?

The decree promulgated by the council must not pass without a remark. It may be considered as a model of what is to be approved on such an occasion. It offers no shadow of violence to any man's conscience: it ordains no pains, no penalties on a religious account. No penalties at all are enacted, except for a breach of the peace, or what directly tends to break it: and these are to be awarded with an equal hand to both parties alike. Zwingli is merely to be protected in going on to preach the word of God as he had heretofore done: by that word he is to defend himself, and by it he is to stand or fall.¹

Remarks
on the
Decree,

Indeed the whole scene before us must be acknowledged to be striking and extraordinary. The supreme power of the state, and that in times yet papal, convoking such an assembly; itself presiding at the religious discussion, and taking so great interest in the question at issue; yet exercising such perfect abstinence

and on the
Disputation

¹ Let it not be thought that I here express myself unfavourable to ecclesiastical establishments. I lived and laboured under such an establishment, and provided instruction for the people, and for their instructors. The conduct of the government those who differed from him, and from it, is now under consideration.

from all authoritative interference with religion, as the decree manifests : all this seems nearly without parallel.

Little discussion, it is true, took place on this occasion—evidently for no other reason but because the papal advocates dared not enter into debate : yet it was impossible that the proceeding should not be attended with important consequences. The publicity of the transaction ; the number and respectability of the parties who attended ; the loud and repeated calls made, but without effect, upon the adversaries of the reformation to avow and defend their opinions ; the exclusive appeal made to the authority of scripture, on the one side, and declined by the other : these and numerous other obvious facts could not but make a strong impression, which the persons who had been present would, on their return home, propagate even to distant parts. Popery, it was here clearly ascertained, had no foundation in scripture to stand upon ; nothing, which could bear examination, to be urged in its support. Henceforward the reformation, as far at least as Zurich was concerned, was not the mere work of individuals, connived at but not sanctioned ; Zwingli was expressly encouraged to proceed in his work, with the avowed countenance of the state.

Animosity
of the
Roman
Catholics.

But, proportioned to the confirmation which these events gave to the reformed, was the vexation which they occasioned to their opponents. Faber, chagrined as might have been expected, wrote to a friend, " You expect news from me : I have none to send you which may be relied on, except that Luther rising up at Zurich, is more formidable than the other in

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character of the people is more untractable. Against him I am compelled, whether I will or not, and indeed sorely against my will, to draw my pen—as you will shortly see in a work in which I prove the mass to be a sacrifice.”¹ He demanded of Zwingle to explain the sixty-seven Articles more at large, (as the former had expressed his intention of doing,) that he might know how to meet them. But this only tended still further to hurt his cause, it led Zwingle to publish the copious “*Explanation of the Articles*,” which occupies the chief place in his printed works, and Faber never gave his promised answer to them.² The bishop of Constance complained bitterly of the proceedings at Zurich to the cantons at large: and he and the pope’s legate, Ennius, are said to have employed their emissaries to take off Zwingle, could the opportunity have been found of doing it without too great a risk.³ Pessant calumnies were spread against the former; and he was formally accused to the cantons assembled at Baden. The charge there alleged against him was, that he had publicly said that the Swiss ‘sold the blood of Christian people, and ate their flesh!’ This absurd accusation arose from the form in which, adding to the prosecution of people for eating flesh in lent, he had put his censure of the armed military services. He justified himself in a printed paper addressed to the diet again assembled at Berne; in which he renewed his explanation of his doctrines, and intreated the Cantons not to obstruct the preaching of the gospel. They however ordered, that

July.

¹ J. H. Hot. vi. 229.² Zwing. Op. fo. 3—100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.³ Ru. i. 173. Genl. 16. 17.

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he should be seized wherever he could be found.¹—Alluding to the dangers which he was told surrounded him after the disputation of Zurich, he writes to Steiner of Zug, April 14th, “If I had been to be frightened by plots formed against me, I should never have taken up the office of preaching the gospel in the manner I have done. I say this, not to boast myself, but to set your mind at ease respecting me.”²

Decree
of Berne.
June 15.

In Berne we may probably trace the effect of the discussion of Zurich. The supreme council, a few months after, taking into consideration the height to which controversy was carried—the preachers undertaking to confute one another from the pulpit, and the minds of the people being in consequence much agitated—issued an edict, enjoining that “the ministers, both in town and country, should preach the gospel freely, fully, and clearly, but should take care to deliver nothing which they did not feel well assured that they could prove from the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament.”³ This was, in fact, recognizing the grand principle of the reformation; and must have been felt, both by one party and the other, to be a measure of great importance in that age; while it was, at the same time, so general and so temperate, that none could reasonably complain of it.

This was considered as the first public step taken at Berne towards the reformation, which was in the event so successfully established there. It was soon followed by others. Haller having held a conference on the subject of religion

¹ Ru. i. 175-6. Gerd. i. 288. Zuing. Op. i. 147, 148.

² Œc. et Z. Epist. 184 (b).

³ Ru. i. 176-7. Gerd. ii. 238.

with a nun of a celebrated convent at Berne, an order was issued, in the first heat of the irritation which the circumstance occasioned, that he and all the preachers of his party should be banished: but his friends in the council had sufficient influence to procure the revocation of this order, and the substitution of an injunction to observe the late edict.¹

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Soon after this the nuns of the wealthy abbey of Kunigsfeld, all of them ladies of quality, having read some of the writings of Luther and Zwingli, were led to consider themselves as the "unhappy prisoners" of a dark and antisciptural superstition; and in consequence applied to the council, "for the love of God and the salvation of their souls," to release them from their confinement: and, after considerable delay, and repeated attempts made to divest them of "their Lutheran fancies," they succeeded in the object of their application; most of them quitted the abbey, (which in the year 1529 was converted into an infirmary,) and several of them married. The marriage of one of them with the guardian of the abbey, and that of another with a citizen of rank, publicly celebrated in the cathedral at Berne, made a strong impression on the minds of the inhabitants concerning the new order of things which was obtaining establishment.²

Further
proceedings
there.

1524:

In the mean time the bishop of Lausanne, within whose diocese the town of Berne situated, took vigorous measures to repressing heresy. He convoked the clergy

Opposition

¹ Ru. i. 176—178.

² Ib. 178—183. Some at least of the Swiss had great power both over the monastic institution and clergy, even before the reformation. Gerdes, i.

diocese at large, and earnestly exhorted them to oppose the spread of "the Lutheran heresy;" and began to adopt means for the expulsion of all persons infected with it. The government, however, jealous lest, under the pretence of exercising spiritual jurisdiction, he should encroach upon the rights and privileges of themselves and their subjects, would not suffer him to execute his designs within their extensive jurisdiction. They even refused to receive him into their town "as a prince:" "if he would come simply as a bishop, and, laying aside the purple, preach the gospel to them, they would be ready to welcome him; but if he came to tyrannise over his fellow-pastors, it would be at his peril that he appeared among them."¹ In these transactions the foundation seems to have been first laid of that animosity which the bishop conceived against the Bernese, and which ultimately deprived him of his dignity.—But, independently of this reasonable jealousy for their civil liberties and privileges, we are assured that the number of those who ardently thirsted for the pure word of God, now greatly increased at Berne: and among them is particularly mentioned Nicholas de Watville, provost of the cathedral, and son of the late advoyer, James de Watville, who had been a great opposer of the reformation.²

Progress of
reformed
principles
at Basle;

At Basle also reformed principles made great progress; which was only accelerated by the means employed to check it. It was at this time that Erasmus wrote to his correspondents, that "at Basle one might print any thing in

¹ This may explain Faber's description a few pages back, as an "untractable" person.

² Ru. i. 186-7. Gerd. ii. 255.

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in favour of Luther, while it was scarcely safe even to write in favour of the pope." The provincial of the order of which Pellican was guardian at Basle, now visiting that city, and hearing of the Lutheran principles both of him, of his deputy Kreis, and of Luthard, concerted measures for the removal of all the three: but, this coming to the knowledge of the council, they expelled him the city, and with him two of the professors of divinity, who had concurred in his plans: and they advanced Oecolampadius and Pellican to the chairs in the university which were thus vacated. Oecolampadius was soon after admitted to the curacy of S. Martin's church, the incumbent of which was old and infirm; and he laboured so indefatigably in his double employ, as pastor and professor, that Zwingli thought it necessary to write to him to moderate his exertions, lest he should destroy his health.¹ Where zeal and opportunity concur—where the spiritual field is seen "white unto the harvest," and the love of Christ and of souls constrains the labourers, it is not easy for them to confine their exertions within those bounds which prudence, and even duty may require.

At Schaffhausen also the course of things was favourable. Here indeed the little council, which is nearly equivalent to the executive power of the state, continued opposed to the reformation; but the grand council, of which the former was but a part, and the generality also of the citizens, were well disposed to it. Hoffmeister had been forbidden to preach publicly, but he was indefatigable in instructing the people in private; and his success was

and Schaff-
hausen.¹ Mel. Ad. l. 24. Ro. l.

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great. So widely had his principles spread, that the Roman-catholic processions at the great festivals were suppressed, several priests married, and a strong disposition was manifested to remove the images from the churches.¹

Lucerne.

At Lucerne, indeed, the case was different. All the preachers of the reformed doctrine had been driven away, and severe ordinances were published against the marriage of the clergy, and the dissemination of "Lutheran" principles. The diet of the cantons also, assembled at Baden, adopted other severe measures in addition to those which we have already noticed. They received accusations against John Broetlin and John Hagner, both of them priests of the county of Sargans: and the former, for preaching against the mass, and allowing the eating of meat in lent, was thrown into prison; and the latter, for having married, was compelled to fly his country.²

Zuric.

But it was at Zuric that the greatest progress still continued to be made. Gregory Luti, pastor of Richtensvyl, having preached against the popish ceremonies and the pride of the ecclesiastics, was dismissed from his situation by the administrator of the demesnes of the knights of [S. John of] Jerusalem. He appealed to the government of Zuric, but to his astonishment was condemned by the senate, or little council, to imprisonment and exile. Zwingle, however, censured the conduct of the senate from the pulpit; and the grand council reviewed and annulled the decision; and ordered all causes affecting religion to be henceforth brought only before themselves.³ Greater reforms followed.

¹ Ru. i. 191.² Ib. 190, 192.³ Ib. 187-8.

The cathedral of Zurich had a chapter of twenty-four canons, with thirty-six chaplains, pastor of the parish, and his curate. As the canons in general lived in much irregularity, and even vicious indulgence, those who paid them their tithes had long done it with great reluctance, thinking it a heavy expence incurred rather to the detriment of the public than to its advantage. Much dissatisfaction was also occasioned by the exactions made in the administration of the sacraments, the performance of funeral rites, and other necessary services. These subjects were now brought under the notice of the council. The chapter having given good proof of their being legally intitled to their tithes, the council affirmed their claim: but they appointed a commission of three of their own members and four canons to remedy abuses. The commissioners framed divers excellent regulations, which were sanctioned and published, and would not fail to give much content, and produce much good to the community. By these regulations it was enacted, that no charges should in future be made for the administration of the sacraments, the burial of the dead, and other offices: that a number of superfluous clergy attached to the chapter should be removed, and only such retained as were necessary for duly conducting the service: that, after the demise of the present prebendaries, their prebends should be applied to the support of learned professors, to teach the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages; and to the procuring of more liberal stipends for the masters of the school; in order that the youth of the country might be better educated: that the professors should reside in their parishes, that they

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Regulation
of the
cathedral
church.

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might properly tend their flocks: that the chapter should take care to supply good and competent ministers, to perform the service in the country churches dependent upon them: that the surplus of the tithes and other revenues should be employed in the relief of the poor, under the direction of two members of the council and two of the chapter. In fine, four administrators were appointed, taken from the great and little councils, to superintend the management of the temporalities of the chapter. The right of the council to introduce these changes is a question that belongs not to us: it does not appear that it was questioned at the time:¹ their general wisdom and even moderation can hardly be disputed: but by them the oppressive yoke which the church had imposed on the community was in a good measure broken. At the same time the use of a foreign language in the services of the church was ordered to be discontinued.²

The Mass,
and Images.

August.

The next subjects which came under discussion were the mass and the use of images. Zwingle had lately published an Essay on the canon of the mass, or the prayers used in the consecration and administration. It is a spirited performance, addressed to his old friend and patron, Geroldseck, administrator of Einsidlin. In it he shews that the received canon was "full of ignorance, puerilities, and impiety; that it had not been composed at any one time, but patched together, and changed at various periods; that it was deformed by grievous errors and gross superstition; and

¹ The remark quoted from Gerdes, above, p. 453, note, is particularly applied to Zurich.

² Ruchat, i. 193—195.

ought therefore to be abolished.¹ To the influence of this work we may in great measure ascribe it, that it was now commonly argued, that the mass was no sacrifice, and that, in its present form at least, it ought to be discontinued.

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The subject of images gave occasion to the disorders. Certain citizens, at the head of whom was Nicholas Hottinger, a man possessed of considerable religious information, though occupying no higher a station than that of a shoemaker, took upon them to overturn a large crucifix erected in a public station. For this offence Hottinger and one of his associates were committed to prison. The preachers from the pulpit justified the demolition of the idol, and seem to have been too much disposed to vindicate the gross irregularity of private individuals, and the use of the lower class, taking upon themselves to make public changes, and that even by means of tumult and violence. The city was much divided upon the subject; and the magistrates again determined to submit the question to a discussion—in the mean while retaining the prisoners in custody. And thus was introduced the second disputation of Zurich.²

Disorderly
act of N.
Hottinger.

Second Dis-
putation of
Zuric.

The day fixed for this discussion was Monday the 26th of October, 1523; and the subjects were Images and the Mass—whether they should be supported from the sacred scriptures or not. The bishops of Constance, Basle, and Sion (the capital of the Grisons,) were invited to be present, and all the Swiss cantons to send their deputies and the most learned of their

Oct. 2

Zuing. Op. i. fo. 175—191. Gerd. i. 289.
Ruchat, i. 195-6.

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clergy: but the bishops had no inclination to repeat the experiment tried on the late occasion, and Schaffhausen alone, among the cantons, complied with the call. The town of S. Gallen sent its burgomaster, Vadian, and Benedict Burgawer, its chief pastor.

The Meet-
ing.

At the time appointed about nine hundred persons,¹ including the grand council of Two Hundred, assembled in the senate house of Zurich; and among them three hundred and fifty ecclesiastics. The burgomaster Reust opened the meeting, and in the name of the council requested Joachim Vadian of S. Gallen, Sebastian Hoffman of Schaffhausen, and Christopher Schappeler of Memmingen,² to act as presidents; to preserve order, to hold the disputants to the rule of appealing only to the scriptures, and to secure to every one a fair hearing. Zwingle and Leo Jude were also specially appointed to defend their side of the question. After some demur, the presidents nominated accepted the office; the decree by which the meeting had been called was read; and Zwingle was desired to commence the proceedings; which he did by reminding the assembly of the promise of Christ, that

Zwingle's
opening.

¹ Ruchat and Gerdes.—Some say “six hundred, more or less.”

² Schappeler, who is also sometimes called Sertorius, or Sartorius, was a native of S. Gallen. He had been stationed since the year 1513 at Memmingen, in Suabia, (one of the cities which first merited the name of *protestant*, by protesting against the decree of the diet of Spire, in 1529,) and is considered as the reformer of that city. He suffered considerable persecution, especially from his diocesan, the bishop of Augsburg; and with some difficulty, though favoured by the magistrates and citizens, escaped with his life from Memmingen, and retired to his native town of S. Gallen, in 1525. There he laboured faithfully till his death in 1551. Gerdes, ii. 327—333.

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erever two or three were gathered together
s name he would be in the midst of them;
grant them their petitions." The place,
aid, was too much crowded to admit
eir conveniently kneeling down for prayer,
he besought all present to lift up their
s to God, besecching him "to draw to
elf all such as had hitherto rebelled against
word; to enlighten those who were in
ance; and to lead back into the right
those who had been seduced from it."

se Acts of this meeting, as well as those
ie former, are appended to the Works
vingle;¹ and, as a more regular discussion
took place than on the former occasion;
are furnished with such authentic infor-
on concerning the proceedings; and as
proceedings were both interesting and
rtant; I shall again present the reader
an abstract of them: though in no future
nce of the kind, one only excepted, shall
ik it needful to enter into such detail.

ter the exhortation to prayer just recited,
ngle begged, before the first proposition,
arning images, was introduced, to premise
r remarks on the subject of the church—

Zwingle on
the Church.

was to be understood by that term;
on that, in fact, depended the right and
ority of their present proceedings; and it
been objected to their former meeting,
it was not lawful for assemblies so con-
ed at all to enter into the examination
ch questions. He then spoke of the catholic,
iversal church of Christ, consisting of all
believers in all ages and places. In this
the church never had been nor ever

¹ Zuing. Op. ii. fo. 623—646.

would be *visible*, or subjected to the discrimination of any created eye, till all should meet before their judge at the last day. Next he spoke of particular churches, such as those of Ephesus, of Corinth, or of Galatia; which that of Zurich¹ resembled, and which, he contended, had a right to assemble and to discuss matters relating to their faith and their common welfare. But he rejected the exorbitant claims of the church of Rome, which asserted that nothing was valid in the whole Christian world, but what was done with her sanction. Particularly he condemned the restriction of the term, 'the church,' to a convention consisting of the pope, cardinals, bishops, and other ecclesiastics exclusively.—He then paused; and all, who had any thing to object to the positions which he had laid down, were invited to express their sentiments. Conrad Hoffman, a canon of Zurich, was the only person who presented himself: but, as he spoke only of the pope's bull, the emperor's edict, the canons, and the impropriety of all such discussions as the present, without even pretending to adduce any scriptural authority for what he said, he was not allowed to proceed.

Leo Jude on
Images.

Leo Jude then brought forward the proposition, "That images are forbidden by the word of God; and that Christians ought not to make them, set them up, or pay them any honour;"² and supported it by various scriptural proofs.—But here it may be observed, that I should have understood both him, and other persons who took part in the discussion

¹ The church of Zurich, as we must suppose also of some of the others here referred to, was not comprised in a single congregation. Zwingle did not even limit his view to the city of Zurich.

² Ruchat, i. 198.

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side, to go the length of denying the
ness of making pictures or statues
ether, and not merely of making them for
ous purposes, had I not subsequently
l Zwingle expressly disclaiming such a
nent. After he had spoken, repeated calls
made on those, who did not concur in
octrines, (of whom many had previously
ed and reviled the reformers on this very
ct,) to oppose the proposition. But only
most trifling opposition was offered—such
rguing that the second commandment
ed to the idols of the heathen alone; that
s had been commanded to make the
n serpent and the figures of the cherubim;
bat images might help to excite our pious
igs. To the instances cited from scripture
eplyed, that they were exceptions expressly
by God himself from the general rule
h he had laid down, and that the figures
red to were not appointed to receive any
ous worship or even veneration. To the
ig remark Zwingle returned the answer
h he had frequent occasion to give, "It is
vell, if you can adduce scripture for it:
the inquiry is, not what may seem to you
fit and advantageous, but what the word
d teaches."

ie commendator of Kuznacht (Conrad
nidt) then, in a long allegorical speech;
ed, that all our reliance is to be placed on
it alone. "From Him," he piously and
y said, "let all sinners seek grace—all the
, sight—all the destitute, aid—all the
ted, comfort—all the condemned, redem-
—all the foolish, wisdom." "But, inste-
is," he proceeded, "men have substitut-
s, and the images of saints, in Chri-

The com-
mendator of
Kuznacht.

place.”—He argued, however, that men’s minds must be enlightened, before that on which they had been accustomed erroneously to rely could properly be torn from them.—Hoffman, one of the presidents, here observed, that the speaker was going into an ulterior question, namely the course that should be pursued, in case it were proved that the use of images is forbidden by the scriptures: but the latter was the question at present before them. Zwingle then added some able remarks on the latter part of the commendator’s speech—shewing what *had* been done to enlighten men’s minds, and how far the rule of “not giving offence” applied to the case before them. The minds of the majority, he contended, *were* enlightened; and they must not wait till no dissenting voice should be heard, before they abolished that which the scriptures manifestly condemned.—Schmidt declared himself satisfied.

Several of those who had most openly reproached the reformers were then called upon, by name, to reply to the arguments which had been adduced, and to maintain their own side of the question. Some of them confessed that they had nothing to offer, and some still answered by scoffs. The prior of the Augustins produced a quotation from the canon law. Zwingle in return shewed from that law itself¹ that the scriptures alone were to be relied on. The monk, thus beaten with his own weapons, replied, that in all cases of difficulty we were to have recourse to the apostolic chair. “The pope,” said he, “has decided, and I abide by his decisions.

¹ “ Distinc. 9. Can. *Ego solis.*”

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[leave it to others *to argue*." The senior physician of the city brought forward the old distinction of the different kinds of worship or service, *latria*, *doulia*, and *hyperdoulia*; but Zwingle had already shewn that the Hebrew word, rendered *worship*, or *serve*, included every kind and degree of homage or veneration.

The president Hoffman then rising returned thanks to God for the clear evidence of his word, upon the question which had been considered, and for the victory which his truth had manifestly obtained that day: and he besought the magistrates to liberate the persons under confinement for overthrowing the crucifix. This terminated the proceedings of the first day.

The following day Zwingle introduced the second proposition, "That the mass is not a sacrifice; and that the eucharist is celebrated in a manner quite different from the institution of the Saviour."¹ As so much difficulty had been found in inducing the opponents of the reformation to come forward, a different course was now adopted than on the preceding day, the principal persons in each distinct rank of the clergy being successively invited by name to deliver their sentiments, whether for or against the proposition. The abbots and those who ranked with them were first called upon; and, at the head of them, Wolfgang Joner, abbot of Cappel, who declared himself fully satisfied with both the propositions, and determined to defend them wherever the occasion might be presented. The abbot of Stein² said, he would offer nothing against them. Felix Liberius remarked, that the ancients had called the mass *a sacrifice*. Zwingle admitted

Zwingle on
the sacrifice
of the mass;

¹ Ruchat, i. 200.

² Ib. 199.

and on
harsh and
violent lan-
guage.

that they had done so, but manifestly in a different sense than was supposed—not as being itself a sacrifice every time it was celebrated, but as a *commemoration* of the sacrifice which Christ offered when he died on the cross.¹—Brenwald,² provost of Embrach, concurred in the sentiments of the abbot of Cappel. The commendator of Kusunacht agreed with the doctrine laid down in the proposition, but thought that too harsh language had been used in speaking against the mass—which had stumbled many. This gave occasion to Zwingli to deliver some sentiments which may well deserve to be recorded. He justified the strong condemnation both of the mass and of monastic institutions: “Yet,” he said, “I wish that all ministers would employ their zeal in preaching Christ, that, through the prevalence of his word, *all* errors and abuses might be undermined and fall: for I know, and I know it with pain, that some have preached against particular errors with an indecorum which is neither useful nor right. Some retain nothing of sermons which they hear from me but strong detached expressions which I happen to use upon such subjects; and many can recite nothing from the writings of Luther but the cutting language, which, incited by his fervent zeal for God and religion, he sometimes employs; while the pure and holy spirit, and ardent faith, with which he embraces the truth and word of God, have few imitators.—I will not deny that I may sometimes have been severe in the pulpit: but I am bold to affirm, that I have given just cause of offence to no one on any private ground: and you are not ignorant how forbearing I was

¹ Fo. 634, 639.

² Ru. i. 200.

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first towards my hearers on the subject of the intercession of the saints. I spoke to this effect: 'Do you carry your complaints where you think proper: for my part, will carry mine only to God. My hope (in me) has certainty to go upon: your's (in the saints) is uncertain.' And this forbearance I continued to use, till the doctrine of the intercession and invocation of the saints was beaten down by the power of God's word, which I taught, *instant in season, out of season*. From my inmost soul, therefore, I wish all to be anxious to build up, rather than to throw down; to preach the word of God boldly, and pronounce concerning particular (doctrines or practices) as God has taught them (in his word)."—Is it possible not to do homage to the united integrity and piety of the man who speaks in this manner, and that in such circumstances?

The only instance, in which an attempt was made to maintain a regular argument in favour of the Roman-catholic doctrine, was on the part of Martin Stainly, a preacher at Schaffhausen: and the ample justice which appears to be done to him in the Acts might well furnish a presumption of their general fairness, were any disposed to call it in question. He, being called upon, addressed the meeting at great length. He commenced by speaking, with much seriousness and apparent feeling, of the corruption of mankind, and the imperfection of even their best works; which is such that "every believer, and by consequence the whole Christian church, while living in this world, may say, as S. Paul says of himself, *So I serve with the mind I myself serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin.*" He

Stainly's arguments for the sacrifice of the mass.

then quoted two passages of scripture, which speak of persons offering to God "a pure offering," and "a free will offering:" Malachi i. 11, and Deuteronomy xvi: the former of which (though Zwingli pronounced otherwise,) is probably to be referred to the "spiritual worship" of true Christians; and the other evidently relates to the offerings of the Jews. But Stainly argued, that these descriptions of "a free-will offering," and "a pure offering," could not be applied to any offerings of mere men, whether in devoting *themselves* to God, or in presenting their imperfect *worship* to him: and hence he would have inferred that both the passages, and particularly that of Malachi, must be considered as predicting or prefiguring the continual offering of the perfect sacrifice of Christ in the mass.

This was his first argument. His next was the same as is to this day, however frivolously, attempted to be drawn by the Roman catholics from Melchizedek's having *offered*, as they pretend, the bread and wine which he brought out to Abraham: on account of which offering it is, according to their interpretation, that he typified Christ, presenting his body and blood to God for us under the species of bread and wine. And, as Christ remains "a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek," so (say they,) this sacrifice is daily and perpetually repeated.

A third argument he founded on Christ's promises of giving the Holy Spirit to abide with his church for ever, as its comforter and teacher, and thus to preserve it from error—into which, if any particular pastors fell, the sheep "would not hear their voice." But for ages, he observed, the whole church had

allowed those who taught that the mass was repetition of the sacrifice of Christ. It must therefore be concluded that this, especially being it was so great and fundamental a point, was not an error.

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His last argument seems to rest on the *assumption* of the real corporal presence of Christ in the eucharist: that, as the same body, blood, and whole person of Christ, which hung on the cross, were present in the sacrament, there must be the same sacrifice offered in the same case as in the other.—He concluded with disclaiming his having any personal end to answer, in what he thus professed, and attempted to maintain. He aimed, he said, at nothing but Christian unity, and love among brethren.

He was answered partly by Leo Jude and partly by Zwingle; both of whom gave him credit for a sincere zeal for what he esteemed to be the truth. Leo first asked him, whether, supposing the two passages from Malachi and Deuteronomy to refer, as he seemed to assume that they did, to sincere Christians, he understood them to apply to all such characters, or only to some of them? Stainly at first replied, to all. On which Leo observed, that then they could not at all serve his purpose; for none but priests could offer the sacrifice of the mass, to which he would refer them. Stainly then retracted his answer, and said, To some only. To which Leo replied, that the words could not admit of such a restriction: and besides, he added, how could priests, being themselves imperfect men, offer “a pure offering,” which his opponent had asserted could be done by no mortal man, because of the continual sinfulness of all men? He

Leo Jude
in reply.

then proceeded to unfold to him (what the case of this apparently conscientious and humble-minded papist seemed especially to require,) the great principle of the gospel, that we are all sinners, polluted and impure through the corruption of nature which has descended to us from our fallen first parents; but that from this disease and depravity of nature, and the sin and condemnation which necessarily accompany it, Christ delivers us: that believers in him stand before God accepted as pure and holy through Him, who “of God is made unto them wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption:” that when, therefore, we are thus purified by faith in Christ, our offerings also become pure and holy in the sight of God. On this ground, even our imperfect services are “a pure offering,” acceptable to God through Jesus Christ: but, in any other way, even the offering of Christ’s body and blood, made by us, (were that possible,) must be an impure one, *viewed with reference to the offerer*. Christ himself alone could offer it so as to atone for sins: and the apostle has declared that he offered it “once for all,” that is, never to be repeated.¹—Here again is the essential doctrine of the gospel, restored at the reformation, and applied to its true purpose, the relief of consciences burdened with the sense of guilt and depravity.

Zwingle then offered what he conceived to be the true sense of the passages, confining, as we have intimated, that of Malachi, as well as that in Deuteronomy, to the Jews. After which Leo proceeded to Stainly’s other arguments. He observed, that Melchizedek was

(Melchizedek’s sacrifice.)

¹ Εφάπαξ.

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ver at all said to have *offered* the bread and wine, but only to have *brought* them forth to Abraham ; and that the points in which the apostle finds the parallel between him and Christ are, not this imaginary offering of bread and wine (to which in fact he never once alludes,) but, 1. His name, and the name of his father, signifying “ king of righteousness,” and “ prince of peace :”¹ 2. That he was “ without father, without mother, without (priestly) descent, having neither beginning of days nor end of life,” but “ abiding a priest continually,” “ for ever.” Not that all this was literally true of Melchizedek, but that his parentage and his death, the commencement and the termination of his priesthood, were unrecorded, and alike unknown to us. He added, moreover, that Christ did not offer his sacrifice of himself at the time he instituted the eucharist, but on the day following, when he died upon the cross : and that, as far as simply his sacrifice was concerned, Christ was conformed to Aaron rather than to Melchizedek—of whom nothing respecting sacrifice is on record.

With respect to the third argument, of the church, in consequence of the promised gift of the Holy Spirit, not being liable to be misled, he observed, that many passages of holy writ implied, that numbers of Christ’s *professed* disciples would be misled ; though, he concluded, the elect would not—fatally, at least : that the doctrine of the sacrifice of Christ in the mass formed no part of that body of divine truth, which the Holy Spirit revealed to the apostles ; and that, accordingly, there had

Preservation of the church from error.

His uniting the kingly and priestly offices, which the Jews divided to different tribes, is a main point insisted on by the apostle.

always been found pious and holy men to protest against it as a corruption : that no length of time during which error was generally received could make it true : that simple-minded Christians did not follow their teachers in all their errors : and that, as for those who shut their eyes against the light of God's word, it was a righteous thing in God to give them over to be blinded.

Zwingle in
reply to
Stainly.
(Condemn-
ing our
forefa-
thers.)

Here Zwingle in some degree rebuked Stainly, for having virtually adopted the argument of the profane, who said, ' You make all our forefathers to have lived and died in error, and thus to have gone to perdition.' " All the wicked," observed Zwingle, " use this argument when they would render the doctrine of Christ odious. But who," he proceeded, " says that our forefathers are lost? They erred on this and other points : yet their salvation was in the hand, and dependent on the mercy, of God, to which other sinners also must owe their salvation. It is not *our* business to pronounce concerning their state. Why do we arrogate to ourselves the office of the Judge of all? Why do we say that this or that man has perished? Cannot God claim and preserve his own, though in the midst of errors—even as he did the young Jews in the fiery furnace? That the inventors of these errors must give account to God, cannot be doubted. But this rash judging of others does not become us : we must leave all such cases to the judgment and mercy of God. That error *has* prevailed on the subject in question is as clear as the day."

He then added a few words on Stainly's fourth and last argument, the premises of which he, of course, denied : and he repeated the

DISPUTATIONS OF ZURIC.

ation, before given, of the sense in the eucharist was called a sacrifice by cients—namely as being a *commemoration* e sacrifice of Christ, offered upon the —Zwingle is generally considered as g too much reduced the sacrament of the i supper to a *mere* commemoration. and can be no doubt that his language is imes objectionable on that head: yet it be questioned whether he meant any inconsistent with its being “a sign, a e, a means of grace,” or only to deny to character of a propitiatory sacrifice.

inly declined making any reply: and gle then addressed him in a friendly and erly manner, commending the spirit he manifested, his learning, and his ledge of the scriptures. He had often, id, heard of him before, and he had now ed to him with pleasure: but he conjured o review the whole subject, and to employ ents in the support of God’s truth, and not st it. Stainly promised so far to comply this advice, as to give his best considera- o the subjects in dispute between them.¹ is whole passage, in which Stainly was rned, must be considered as a truly ng specimen of fair, candid, manly, and -tempered discussion on both sides; ‘ ust strongly tend to the discove lishment of the truth.

ough the disputation was exten day, little more occurred which ularly related. Burgawer of asked his opinion, declared ment with the two propositions.

¹ Zuing. Op. ii. 635—639.

taught, he said, the doctrine which they laid down, and for so doing had been cited before the vicar general of the bishop of Constance. Hubmeyer, or Pacimontanus,¹ John Zuiccus of Constance, and several other persons expressed their concurrence; and one, who had before been an opposer, now avowed himself convinced, and confessed his error. The canons of Zurich, as has indeed been implied, were divided in their opinion. Those of Embrach declined offering any thing in opposition to the propositions. The guardian of the Franciscans and the prior of the Dominicans followed their example. At the close of the discussion, Zwingle exhorted the council, and Leo Jude the clergy, faithfully to follow their convictions, committing all consequences to God, who never failed them that reposed their trust in him.

Its termination.

The three presidents then rose, and Vadian, speaking in behalf of them all, observed, that no definitive sentence was to be pronounced as the decision of the meeting: they had heard the testimony of God's word in support of the two propositions, and likewise what could be urged against them: each person must judge for himself what was the conclusion to be formed, and must follow the dictates of his own conscience. He doubted not that the truth of God would prevail.—The burgomaster then returned the thanks of the council to the three presidents, and joined in the exhortation to all present to take the word of God for their only guide, and to follow it, fearing nothing. Thus the meeting closed.²

¹ Above, p. 419.

² Acta, ubi supra. J. H. Hottinger, vii. 633—639. Ruchat, i. 196—201. Gerdes, i. 290—293. Du Pin, vi. 88.

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Steps
preparatory
to the abo-
lition of the
mass.

Their further steps were taken with great caution and moderation. Though convinced that neither the mass nor the use of images could be justified by the word of God, they would not at once abolish them, while many professed not to have received the same conviction: but they allowed every minister to say mass or decline it, as he thought proper: and it was in consequence to a great degree neglected by the clergy, and deserted by the people. They strictly forbid, however, the eating of meat during lent, not being yet satisfied that the customary observance of that season ought to be dispensed with. Before they proceeded further with respect to the mass and images, they resolved once more to address the three bishops of Constance, Basle, and Coire, as also the university of Basle, and each of the twelve cantons, transmitting to them copies of the little work of Zwingle's which they had lately issued, praying them that, if they could adduce any good reasons, drawn from scripture, why the use of images and the mass should still be retained, they would not fail to communicate them—promising to wait for their answer till Whitsuntide in the following year: “but they resolved after that time was elapsed, unless some satisfactory

the clergy, they are merely required to study the book, and the scriptures to which it referred them, with the hope expressed that they would thus find reason to teach according to it. They are threatened with any marks of the council's displeasure, only in case of their neglecting it, and going contrary to it, “without being able to assign scriptural reasons for so doing.” Nay the council declare, that they would still, with the utmost thankfulness, listen to any one who would, from the scriptures, correct any of their present views of things.—In all this we are doubtless to trace the counsels of Zwingle.

answer were received, to proceed to the abolition of those popish observances.

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In the mean time, in consequence of the dissatisfaction expressed by some of the clergy, and a challenge given to Zwingli by five of the canons, a third disputation was held at Zurich, on the thirteenth and fourteenth of January 1524, but with the same result as before.¹

A third
disputation
at Zurich.

But the more successfully the reformation advanced, the more violently, as might be expected, was the rage of those who still continued hostile to it excited. In the month of January, 1524, the cantons, (with the exception of Zurich and Schaffhausen,) assembled at Lucerne, fulminated a second edict, "for the honour of God, the holy Virgin, and all the saints," against the new doctrines, and those who promulgated them. It comprised nineteen articles, asserting all the points of the Romish superstition which had been lately assailed. Amongst other things it provided, "that neither in taverns nor at feasts should any mention be made of Luther, or of any novel doctrine; and that those who carried about relics of the Holy Ghost, of the Virgin Mary, or of S. Anthony, should not be laughed at by any one; and that whatever laws the bishop of Constance enacted respecting religion should be observed: and it professed to bind every one by oath, whether man or woman, old or young, who saw or heard any thing done, spoken, or preached, contrary to this edict, to give immediate information of the same in the proper quarter. The very circumstances which were supposed to call for

Violent
edict of the
Cantons.

¹ J. H. Hottinger, vii. 639. Ru. i. 201—204. Gerd. i. 292—294, 310.

such an edict would make it, generally speaking, nugatory. It attests however the interest universally excited upon the question of religion, and the contempt into which the objects of popish veneration were falling.¹

Martyrdom
of N.
Hottinger.

But there were parts of the country where both magistrates and people would be found ready to give effect to an edict like this; and it had at least one victim, whose story will be painfully interesting to us. This was Nicholas Hottinger, who, it has been stated, was banished from Zurich for two years. He had taken up his abode at Baden, then under the joint sovereignty of the eight ancient cantons. Here he was seized and thrown into prison, on the charge of having said, "that the clergy did not well and truly interpret the scriptures; that they administered not the mass according to the institution of Christ; that we ought to put our trust only in God; that the mass was not a sacrifice; that awful blasphemy was committed in the celebration of it; and that images are forbidden by the word of God:"—heavy charges these on which to convict a man capitally, before a civil tribunal, and that in a land of liberty! When interrogated, Hottinger professed himself ready to justify what he had advanced. The magistrates of Zurich wrote in his favour to the deputies of the states, which held the joint sovereignty with them, then assembled at Lucerne: but he was removed thither from Baden, and brought before his judges. He pleaded his cause before them with the same calmness and courage which he had previously manifested: but it was in vain; as was also the interposition

¹ Sleidan, 67. (lib. iv.) Ru. i. 204. Gerd. i. 295.

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of Zurich in his behalf. When sentence of death was pronounced upon him, he supported himself by adverting to the redemption achieved for him by his Saviour: and, hearing one of his judges brutally and profanely remark, "He must now lose his head; if he should recover it again, we will then be of his religion;" he answered, "The will of the Lord be done! and may he be pleased to pardon all who have contributed to my death. To Jesus also it was said, *Let him come down from the cross, and we will believe on him.*" A monk presented a crucifix to him: but he put it from him, saying, "It is by faith that we must embrace Christ crucified, in our hearts:" and then he spoke of the virtue of the cross, "but not," he added, "a cross of wood, but the passion and death of our Saviour." Seeing many persons weep as they followed him to the place of execution, he said, "Weep not for me, but for yourselves. I am going from misery to eternal happiness; but you have much need to weep for your sins, and to implore of God the gift of true faith and repentance, that you may be saved by Jesus Christ." He then repeated the Lord's prayer and the creed. On the scaffold he exhorted the cantons to remember the firm and faithful friendship which Zurich had ever shewn for them, and not to suffer themselves to be hurried by a blind zeal into violent resolutions against a sister state, merely because it contended for the truth. His last words were, "Into thy hands I commit my spirit, O my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Have mercy upon me and receive my soul!" And with these words he submitted to the stroke of the executioner.

Thus died the first martyr of the Swiss

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reformation; who, though he had in one instance suffered himself to be hurried away by an ill-regulated zeal, yet was chargeable with nothing into which a good man might not fall, chiefly for want of being better instructed in his duty: and in his death he exhibited a spirit not unworthy of the primitive witnesses for the gospel. The contrast of his conduct with that of his judges exhibits a specimen of the genius of the two religions, respectively professed by him and by them; and it could not but afford a strong presumption to every candid mind, as to the side on which truth and goodness were to be found. We are not surprised therefore to hear that his example contributed much to the advancement of the reformed doctrine.¹

Resolutions
of the can-
tons.

The legalized murder of their fellow-citizen could not fail to raise great indignation in the citizens of Zurich, against the cantons which had perpetrated it. Little leisure however was allowed them for the indulgence of their feelings. The other cantons, assembled at Lucerne, with the exception of Schaffhausen, adopted resolutions by which they bound themselves, throughout their territories, and with all their powers, to maintain the Roman-catholic religion, and especially the doctrine of the real presence: and they expressly desired the deputy of Zurich to communicate the fact to his government. Not content with this, they sent a deputation to Zurich expressly to dissuade that state from persisting in the course on which it had entered.²

Their depu-
tation to
Zurich.
March 11.

¹ Ru. i. 205—208. Gerd. i. 295-6.

² To these proceedings, to which their own feelings too naturally gave birth, it would seem they were further prompted by the joint application of the bishops of Constance, Basle, and Lausanne, representing to them that,

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they represented to the council, “that heretofore all things were quiet, and no contention existed about religion;¹ but that now rash and hot-headed men every where sowed the seeds of discord: that it had been well done, this growing evil had been stopped in the beginning, and if, after the example of their ancestors, they had vindicated the honour of Almighty God, the blessed Virgin, and all the saints, at the expense of their fortunes and their lives: that, unless this were now forthwith done, universal ruin and the loss of their souls would follow: that what were the fruits of the doctrine which Luther had introduced began to be apparent, in the insolence of the people, who shewed themselves ripe for rebellion: that the contagion of this evil had been conveyed *them* by Zwingle and Leo Jude; and that, though they themselves (the diet) but little understood what their doctrine was, yet they had daily experience of the evils which it produced—in that on days prohibited by the church men ate flesh and eggs without scruple—priests and the religious of both sexes broke their vows and married—the divine services were neglected, and there were no more chantings or prayers in the churches—the clergy were dishonoured—monasteries dissolved—confession and penance superseded, and men presumed to receive the holy sacrament without them—the mass was reproached, the Virgin and the

if the innovators succeeded in throwing off the yoke of their ecclesiastical superiors, their next step would be to emancipate themselves from the authority of their civil governors; and that, as the assembling of a council was unhappily deferred, it became necessary that other measures should be adopted.” Ru. i. 212.

¹ In other words, “The strong man armed kept his place, and his goods were in peace.”

saints insulted, pictures and images pulled down and destroyed, no reverence shewn to the sacraments of the church, and even the most holy host, exhibiting the body and blood of Christ, was scarcely safe in the hands of the priests: that for their own parts they could no longer endure such a state of things; and they therefore prayed the council of Zurich to abandon their novel proceedings, and to adhere to the religion of their forefathers: that, if they felt themselves aggrieved by the pope and his agents in their invasions of the right of patronage—their sales and exchanges of church livings—their draining the country of money by the sale of indulgences—and their usurpation of authority which did not belong to them, and applying to political and temporal purposes the power which ought to be exclusively spiritual:—if these and many other things were grievous and burdensome to them, they themselves felt the same, to their great displeasure; and would willingly concur with them in casting off the oppression.”

Remark.

From this representation, made by those who were both disposed and well qualified to paint the evils resulting, or supposed to result, from the reformation, in the darkest colours, we learn the amount of the charges which could then be brought against it. With the exception of a degree of alleged insubordination in the lower orders, now become sensible of the impositions that had been practised upon them, (of which insubordination the affair of the overthrow of the crucifix at Zurich was perhaps the strongest instance that could be produced,) scarcely one of the evils charged is a moral offence. Almost all amount to no more than the neglect of popish observances.

To this address of the cantons the council of Zurich returned a full and firm reply. "For five years past," they said, "their present ministers had officiated among them. At first, indeed, their doctrine had appeared to them novel, because they had heard nothing of the kind before: but, when they came to understand that the scope of it was simply this—to exhibit Jesus Christ as the author and finisher of our salvation, who had shed his precious blood for the sins of the world, and alone delivered wretched mortals from eternal death, and is the only mediator between God and man; they could not but embrace such glad tidings with ardent zeal. That great had been the harmony and consent among those who received the doctrine of Christ in ancient times, and they hoped to see the like again among such as should apply their minds to it without regard to human traditions, which had no foundation in the word of God. That if Luther or any other taught this doctrine he did well; but that his name ought not to be imposed upon *them*, as if they had received the doctrine merely because he taught it—for this would be a malicious aspersion, derogatory to the honour of the word of God. That, though they confined their adoration to Christ, and made him their only resource, yet they offered no injury or disrespect to Mary and the saints. That there was now so much light diffused through their city, that most of their people read and diligently searched the holy scriptures for themselves; nor could their ministers misrepresent the sacred writings which were in the hands of all: that schism and heresy, therefore, could not be objected to them, but might more justly be charged upon those, who,

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Answer of
Zuric to the
deputation.

for the sake of their own gain and aggrandizement, turned the word of God to what sense they pleased. That error was imputed to them; but none was pointed out, or proved against them. That the bishops of Constance, Basle, and Coire, and some universities also, had been repeatedly solicited to shew them their errors; but that to the present hour nothing of the sort had been done. That, as to what the bishops said, of its not being lawful for them to make the scriptures so common, it was supported by no sufficient reason: they were referred only to fathers and councils; but their wish was to hear, not what men had decreed, but what Christ willed and commanded. That their ministers gave no cause for divisions in the state: such a proceeding was rather to be attributed to those, who, for their own interest, had taught contrary to the word of God. That all the existing discords arose from those persons who feared the loss of their accustomed profits. That many vices had indeed been introduced (in these later times), which were unknown to their ancestors, but that their teachers reprov- ed them, exhorting men to the fear of God; and, if numbers were not reformed by their doctrine, this was THE FAULT, NOT OF THE SEED SOWN, BUT OF THE GROUND INTO WHICH IT FELL.¹ That certainly within their territories, such

¹ See the parable of the Sower. The remark here made is very pertinent and important, and is directly applicable in reply to a thousand charges both from Romanists and from other quarters. Most of the arguments which the Roman-catholic Dr. Milner displays, with so much confidence, against the sufficiency of holy scripture, (in his "End of Controversy," drawn from the fact of its not having actually preserved mankind from error, are in reality only proofs of the weakness, waywardness, and corruption of our common nature—dis-

REFORMATION, TO A. D. 1525.

degree of luxury and intemperance was not to be seen, as prevailed elsewhere; and their people now entered not, as formerly, into those hired military services, which were productive of unnumbered evils. That, as to the eating of flesh and eggs in lent, though it was not unlawful, and had not been prohibited by Christ, they had passed a law to restrain the richness of the people, and prevent the offence occasioned by it. That, with respect to marriage, God was the author of it, and he allowed it to all; and they could not fight against him by prohibiting what he had instituted. That S. Paul, in enumerating the qualifications of a minister of the church, had even mentioned his being *the husband of one wife*. That it seemed to them just, that the lands of convents, and colleges of regulars, should be applied to the use of the poor—which was their original design; and not be employed in paupering persons who did not need them: that, in order that no one might have just cause of complaint, they had allowed the present possessors to enjoy them for their lives. That the (costly) ornamenting of churches was no part of the worship of God, but that the relief of the poor and miserable was highly acceptable to him: and Christ's command to the rich young man was, not to hang up his wealth in churches for a shew, but *to sell that he had, and give to the poor*. That they did not despise, but on the contrary highly esteemed, the order of the priesthood, when priests did their duty, and taught the people aright:

sees no where more apparent than in those who thus insult others for labouring under them.—The light shines, but the eye is "not single." The rays of the sun are pure, but the undiscerning eye discolours them.

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but that, as for the crowds of idle priests, who did no good to the community, but much harm, they doubted not that gradually to diminish their number would be a service well-pleasing to God. That whether their chantings and prayers were pleasing to him might well be doubted, since most of them understood not the words they used, and did it only for hire. That what was the worth of auricular confession, or the recounting of sins to a priest, they would not take upon them to determine; but the confession with which true penitents betook themselves to Christ must be esteemed not only useful but indispensable. That the usual mode of making satisfaction for sins (so gainful to the priesthood,) appeared to involve much error and impiety; and that the true way for men to repent and make satisfaction was, to reform their lives.¹ That the order of monks was a mere human institution. That they highly revered the sacraments which had God for their author, and would suffer no one to treat them with contempt; but that these holy ordinances ought to be administered according to the divine appointment; and that the Lord's supper was not to be converted into an offering or sacrifice for sin. That the council was extremely glad to hear from the cantons that they wished to see the pope's rapine, extortion, and exorbitant power abolished; but that there was no better way of accomplishing this desirable object, than to follow in all things the word of God; for, so long as the laws and decrees of the church were in force, no

¹ The very term, "making satisfaction," should have been avoided: but, when the whole is taken together, it is obvious that nothing really objectionable was intended.

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relief from its encroachments could be expected: the preaching of God's word could alone shake the usurped dominion. That the adherents of the papacy were fully sensible how great was the power of truth and of the gospel; on which account they had recourse to kings and princes to defend them against its progress. For *their* parts, they were ready to contribute not only their counsel, but all they possessed, to effect the removal of the existing abuses. They prayed the other cantons therefore to take a good part what they had urged, and to give it their best consideration. They desired nothing more earnestly than that all should live in peace and harmony; and they would do nothing contrary to the engagements subsisting between them and their allies: but, with respect to the present question, which concerned their eternal salvation, they could not change their course, unless they were shown to have been in error. If the cantons could prove to them, that in any respect they were going contrary to the holy scriptures, they most earnestly intreated, as they had before done, that they would not fail to do it; and would not delay the attempt beyond the close of the month of May—the period to which they had agreed to wait for the answer of the bishops, and of the university of Paris.*

We can be at no loss to derive “where, how, and been with” the council of Zurich in this copy. They were unanimous in availing themselves of the advice of Zwingli in all such decisions: and we may conclude that we have had his sentiments, if not his words. For this reason we have been the more willing to

* *Heim. 13—12* (in v. 11) 152. 11. 1525. 1525. 1525.

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give the paper so much at length. But it is impossible to read documents of this kind, emanating from senates and councils, without remarking the vast and even portentous change which has taken place. If statesmen and political bodies formerly too much approximated to the character of divines, they have surely now gone, to a fearful degree, into the opposite extreme—when their proceedings scarcely bear the trace of a reference to the scriptures, the providence, or the will and favour of God, or to those rules which he has given to direct the conduct both of nations and of individuals. Alas! in our public transactions we seem to have at least grown “ashamed of Christ and of his words,” if we have not gone the length of declaring that we “will not have him to reign over us.” We may flatter ourselves that we have cast off the narrow bigotry of former ages, and have made great advances in illumination: but, if this is to be shewn in the exclusion of religion, true and practical Christian religion, whether from our public counsels or our private habits, “the light that is in us will be found to be darkness.”

The bishops of Constance and Basle on images and the mass.

In the beginning of June, the bishops sent a long answer (extending to fifty sheets,) to the application which the council of Zurich had made to them on the subject of images and the sacrifice of the mass. This answer had previously received the approbation of some universities, and was so satisfactory to its authors that they published it to the world, at the same time that they sent it to Zurich. It was first examined by a commission of the clergy and members of the senate, and read and considered in the council; and employed Zwingli to prepare an answer

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name.¹ As it only urged, in favour of
es, the old arguments, that those which
Old Testament prohibited were the idols
e heathen, whereas those now in use were
totally different kind, and regarded in a
ent manner, and therefore might and
t to be retained under the sanction of the
ch's authority; and pleaded, in support
e sacrifice of the mass, the testimonies
pes and councils; it is unnecessary here to
l either upon the paper or the reply to it.²

ie answer is addressed only to the bishop of Constance.
ot find that the bishop of Coire had taken part in the
unification made to the council, but the bishop of Basle
ertainly concerned in it.

uing. Op. i. fo. 205—226. Sleid. 72. (lib. iv.) Ru.
. Gerd. i. 304-5. Zwingle's answer is dated August
hough the reference made for the following passage
ainly wrong, and I have not found it any where exactly
ingle's works, yet it may be given as a fair statement
general line of argument against images, drawn from

"He who first placed the statue of a holy man in a
: had certainly no other intention than to offer him as
ect of imitation to the faithful; but men did not stop

The saints were soon surrounded with a pomp which
used the imagination of the people; they were trans-
l into divinities, and honoured as the pagans honoured
gods. Their names are given to temples and altars,
apels are consecrated to them in woods, in fields, and
ountains. How many men in the hour of trouble, or

approach of danger, instead of invoking the Omni-
, call upon men who have been dead for ages, whose
have certainly placed them in the mansions of the
d, but who can neither hear nor succour us? How
Christians, instead of having recourse to the mercy
Redeemer, expect salvation from

of their superstitious devotion! I have seen
who attribute supernatural virtues to
der to enhance the veneration for
mes kept concealed, and sometimes
ma processions. Men consult
; and to such a degree is the
; that they are made to
have uttered words, and

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Further
proceedings
of the
council of
Zuric.

The council now scrupled not to proceed in the work of reformation. Even before the receipt of the bishops' answer concerning images and the mass, they had, at the solicitation of the three pastors, Zwingle, Engelhardt, and Leo Jude, restrained or regulated several customary observances. A grand procession, annually made from Zuric to Einsidlin on Whitmonday, with the cross and banner at its head, they entirely abolished. The same was done by the procession of Corpus Christi—the provost and chapter having joined the pastors in a representation, that Christ had instituted the eucharist to be devoutly received in remembrance of his cross and passion, and not to be carried about to be gazed at by the idle multitude. Other celebrations the council regulated, ordering that they should be accompanied by a sermon; after which the people should return to their ordinary employments: thus aiming in a measure to correct the excessive number of holidays, which so much promote idleness and vice in Roman-catholic countries. They likewise abolished offerings for the dead, the blessing of palms, of holy water, and of tapers, and the rite of extreme unction, with some other observances, as being superstitious, and contrary to the word of God. They caused the shrines in the churches, which were said to contain many wonderful relics of the saints, to be opened. Where bones

Look at the votive tablets that cover the walls of our temples; is there one which testifies the gratitude of a Christian towards God, the dispenser of all good, or Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world? No, it is to men whose condition on earth was similar to our own that they attribute the miraculous cure of a disease, or unexpected succour in the hour of danger, or a wise resolution taken in some important circumstance of life." Hess, 171—173.

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were found, they were interred with decent respect: but in general no such things as had been expected were discovered.¹

The pastors now pressed to have the resolution for the abolition of images carried into effect: and the council accordingly appointed a commission, consisting of seven ecclesiastics, namely, the abbot of Cappel, the commendator of Kusunacht, the provosts of Zurich and Embrach, and the three pastors of Zurich, with some members of their own body, to consider and report on the most unexceptionable mode of proceeding.

Of the very prudent and temperate measures which were adopted Zwingli himself has given us a particular account. In consequence of the act of violence committed by Hottinger and his associates, the council had prohibited any person to remove images without public authority, except such as had been set up by members of his family, and still remained under his private control. Even under this restriction many had been withdrawn from the churches. The clergy were next empowered, after due consultation with other parties concerned, to remove images from their respective churches, provided it were done in an orderly and inoffensive manner. This regulation chiefly respected the country parishes. In the town, those persons whose families had erected images in the churches received notice that they must withdraw them within a limited time, or they would be removed by public

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Abolition
of images.

¹ Ru. i. 213—215. Gerd. i. 294. Thus, at Geneva, when the relics which had been idolatrously adored were examined, the arm of S. Anthony was found to be part of the body of a stag, and the brain of S. Peter a pumice stone! Scultet. 201.

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June 15.

authority. This caused many more to be taken away. The prescribed period having elapsed, the three pastors, with twelve members of the council, of the different tribes, accompanied by a guardian of the public buildings and proper workmen, proceeded to the several churches, and, with closed doors, (to prevent a concourse of the people,) took down all the remaining images, and burned or otherwise destroyed them. In the country similar proceedings were adopted: and "not one of these idols," observes Zwingle, "was found able to deliver himself: all submitted to their fate with the most profound resignation. One stone figure of the Virgin, the monks did not scruple to affirm, would never be removed, or at least never be kept from its station; for that it had been repeatedly taken away, and even locked up, but was always found in its place again! But it returned no more after we had removed it."¹

Temperate
character
of the pro-
ceedings.

Gerdes appeals to this account, which he says was fully borne out by the authentic Acts of the council, then recently published,² as vindicating Zwingle from the censure passed upon him by Mosheim, that, "dazzled with the light into which he had just emerged, he was ill able to discriminate the objects around him: whence bitter animosities and deplorable calamities proceeded from his indiscreet proceedings." Such a censure appears to be little applicable to Zwingle: but it may be observed that the passage does not appear to exist in the copies of Mosheim current among

¹ Zuing. Op. i. 261 (b). Ru. i. 215—217. Gerd. i. 294, 301—304.

² By Fueslin, in his Collection of Documents relating to the Swiss Reformation.

1.—The same caution was observable in the resolution of the council, to defer till the next year any further proceeding respecting the mass, on the ground that one decisive step of this kind was sufficient to be taken at a time.

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Zwingle this year set the example of himself using that liberty for which he contended on behalf of his brethren, by marrying Anna Reinhart, widow of John Meyer, lord of Weingarten, in the county of Baden. He had by her several children, only two of whom survived him—Ulric, who trod in his father's steps, and was a canon and archdeacon of Zurich; and Regula, married to Rudolph Gualter, a divine of eminence, to whom we are indebted for the Latin translation of many of Zwingle's writings, found in his collected works. As the former husband of the lady whom Zwingle married was rich, as well as of noble rank, the enemies of the reformer did not fail to charge him with having been influenced in his choice by motives of avarice and ambition. This led him to give such an exposition of his circumstances, as furnishes another instance of the sort of worldly portion, with which these noble-minded leaders of the reformation not only contented themselves, but contrived also to exercise both hospitality and charity "without grudging." "People talk," he says, "of the rich benefices, of the pastors of Zurich, but I can declare that mine this year would not have produced me sixty pieces of gold,² unless the heads of our

Zwingle's
marriage.

His emol-
ments.

¹ Maclaine's Mosheim, § 12. of second chapter on the Reformation.

² I know not the value of the *aureus* here mentioned. The *gould* or *gulden*, now used in many parts of Switzerland, is only about two shillings and sixpence. How it is that Zwingle's canonry should not have been more productive, I know not.

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college (the chapter?) had allowed me some advantages. My adversaries swell the amount from sixty to three hundred!—I do not make this statement as complaining of poverty. God is my witness, that, if ever I feel uneasiness upon that subject, it is only because I cannot, to the extent of my wishes, relieve the number of poor people who need assistance. And indeed, if I consulted my own ease, I should gladly resign every sixpence of my stipend, to extricate myself from the hazardous services in which I am engaged. But neither the state of the times, nor the improvement of the talent committed to me, will allow me to retire.—As for my wife, apart from her clothes and her ornaments, she does not possess more than four hundred pieces of gold in the world: and, for her ornaments, she so little esteems them, that she has never made any use of them since her marriage with me. The children indeed of her former marriage are rich; (may God give them grace to use their wealth aright!) and from them she receives thirty pieces of gold per annum: I have forborne to claim any further dowry, though I might have done it.”¹

Brief of
Clement
VII to the
cantons.

In the month of April, of this year, Clement VII, who had succeeded Adrian VI. in the papal chair in the preceding September, addressed a brief to the Helvetic republic generally, and, in particular, to all such members of it as had exerted themselves in support of the catholic faith, commending their zeal as “more glorious to them than all the victories and military achievements of their countrymen,” and exhorting them “to pr

¹ Zuing. Op. ii. 47 (b). Ru. i. 217, 495. (4)
305--307.

their laudable course, and to extirpate all upholders of the ancient faith."—Animated by his address, as well as roused by the decisive proceedings at Zurich, the other ten cantons, assembled at Zug in the month of June, sent ambassadors to Zurich, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, to upbraid the first of those states with apostacy, and adoption of principles subversive of the Christian faith; and to warn the other two against following so fatal an example: at the same time giving notice to them all, that the cantons were resolved to tolerate no Lutheran errors" in their own territories, or the governments which they administered in common with any of them; but to inflict upon all followers of the Lutheran sect condign punishment, both in their persons and their goods.—The six cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Friburg went still further: they declared to the citizens of Zurich, that they would neither in future call them to the diet of the cantons, nor sit with them there, till they renounced the novel dogmas they had embraced. Neither their exhortations nor their menaces, however, produced any effect on the reformed; who simply answered, "that they believed they had done nothing unbecoming sincere Christians, since in all their measures they had endeavoured to make the word of God their only rule."

An occasion soon afterwards presented itself to the Roman catholic cantons, when they meant not to be deterred by the protestants' idle threats, and they accordingly

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Their
violent
measures.

June

1 Ru. i. 253—255. The pope appeared to return a law to the cantons in its reformation. 11.

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bailliages, where the opinions of Zwingle were now gaining ground.

The Wirths.

Seizure of
Æchslin.

A tumult.

The town of Stamheim, situated on the frontiers of Thurgau, was dependent upon Zurich, except for its criminal jurisdiction, which was vested in the bailiff of Thurgau—appointed by the eight ancient cantons in rotation. The present bailiff was Joseph Amberg, of Schweitz, a man who had once favoured Zwingle's principles, but who, in order to secure his election to his present office, had promised to use his endeavours to suppress the new doctrines in Thurgau. Stamheim was governed by a vice-bailiff, of the name of John Wirth, a zealous patron of the reformation, and, as such, very obnoxious to Amberg. Wirth's sons, John and Adrian, both clergymen, had also been stationed at Stamheim by the council of Zurich, for the instruction of the people. These persons, having received the edict of the council on the subject, had promptly removed all the images placed in public situations at Stamheim: an act for which Amberg would have seized and imprisoned them, had he not been prevented by the interposition of the people, who ran to arms in their defence. A short time after, however, he succeeded in carrying off, in the dead of night, John Æchslin, of Einsidlin, the learned and pious minister of the neighbouring town of Burg. This he did in contempt of the privileges of Stein, on which town Burg was dependent. An alarm was raised, and a number of people of all ranks, from Stein, Stamheim, and other places, pursued the soldiers who carried off Æchslin. Æchslin however was not rescued: but many of the people on their return, or during a parley between the parties, procured refresh-

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ent at the convent of Ittingen; and some the most disorderly, perhaps intermingled with others who were prompted by a fanatical zeal, being disappointed of their object, and having drunk to excess, proceeded to pillage the convent and set it on fire. The Wirths were present, and used their utmost endeavours to restrain the people, but unhappily without success: and, most iniquitously, the whole penalty of the outrage was made to fall upon them and their friend Burchard Ruteman, vice-bailiff of Nushbaumen, a man of the same principles with themselves. These parties were publicly accused by the Roman-catholic cantons of the authors or ringleaders of the tumult. The council of Zurich, whose subjects they were, in consequence ordered them to be apprehended, and detained them in custody for three weeks; when, after full examination, they pronounced them entirely innocent. But this did not satisfy the cantons, now assembled at Baden; who threatened that, if the accused were not delivered up to them, they would march their troops to Zurich, and carry them off by force of arms. The dread of a civil war, together with the confidence that the parties could be able clearly to establish their innocence, prevailed over the firmness of the council, and they delivered them up; but upon the express stipulation that they should be examined only with respect to the late affair, and in the presence of the deputies of Zurich; and that their religion should not be pleaded against them. This decision of the council was much blamed by many of the citizens; the head of whom was Zwingle. "To yield to threats," said he, "and to renounce your just rights, when the life of a subject is at

The Wirths
accused.

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XVI.

Their mar-
tyrdom.

stake, is a criminal weakness, from which none but the most fatal consequences can be expected."

The prisoners, being surrendered, were conducted to Baden, and there thrown into a dungeon. When brought before the cantons, they were immediately questioned concerning the removal of the images at Stamheim, and on other points affecting their religion. The protest of the deputies of Zurich, against this gross violation of the conditions on which they had been allowed to appear there, was only derided. The prisoners were put to the torture, in order to draw from them confessions which might give some colour of justice to the sentence which it was already determined to pronounce upon them. When the elder Wirth, under the extremity of torture, cried out, and implored the help of God, one of the impious wretches, his examiners, demanded, "Where is now your Christ? Bid him come to your relief." The wife of Wirth hastened to Baden, to implore the mercy of his judges. She set forth his numerous family; and pleaded that, even if there were some causes of complaint against her husband, he might well claim the indulgence of the sovereign power, in consideration of his past fidelity. "It is true," replied the deputy of Zug, who had preceded Amberg in the government, "I have been twice bailiff of Thurgau, and I never knew a more innocent, upright, and hospitable man than Wirth. His house was open to all who stood in need of his assistance: he ever shewed himself a good and faithful subject, and I cannot imagine what demon can have drawn him into this tumult. If he had plundered, robbed, or even murdered, I would willingly speak in his

favour; but, since he has burned the image of the blessed S. Anne, the mother of the Virgin, there can be no mercy shewn him." Such was the opinion, or at least such was the determination of the other deputies—that no mercy should be shewn him; and they accordingly condemned him and his companions to die. To colour over, however, their cruel and fanatical sentence with the appearance of mercy, they granted the pardon of the second son, Adrian, to the tears of his mother.—During the short interval between his condemnation and his execution, the father exacted from this son a promise, that he would not attempt in any way to avenge his death: and the elder brother said to him, "You know that we have faithfully preached the word of God, but always under the cross: do not then weep, but resume your courage, and be constant. I render thanks to Almighty God that he hath honoured me by this day calling me to suffer and die for his word. Blessed be his holy name for ever! His will be done!"—The processes, enumerating the crimes for which they were severally condemned to die, were read over to them. The offences charged upon John Wirth, the son, were only his having eaten meat and eggs in lent; having refused to say mass, alleging that it became not him to set Jesus Christ to sale; and having said that it was better to give money to the poor than to S. Anne, who had no need. Against the two vice-bailiffs, in addition to offences of the same nature, were the pulling down and destroying of images.

Sept. 21

¹ Hess adds, in the elder Wirth's case, of rescuing the pastor of Stein," and the pe-
n associating certain municipalities for mutu

elder Wirth, on hearing the processes, would have again spoken in vindication of himself: but his son said, "We ought to leave the matter: it must be that Antichrist should seek to cover his crimes by lies: but God will in the last day make it manifest on which side innocence and virtue are found." On the scaffold, the son took leave of his father in the following terms: "My dear father, henceforward you shall be no more my father, nor I your son: for we are brothers in Christ Jesus, for the love of whom we are about to die. But we are going to him who is our father, and the father of all the faithful: and in his presence we shall enjoy eternal life."—The sufferers all met their death with constancy, in the presence of a crowd of weeping spectators.

Adrian Wirth was soon after released, with orders to make a public confession of his crime at Einsidlin: but he escaped to Zurich, where he found an asylum, became pastor of Altorff, married, and was the father of the celebrated Rudolph Hospinian,¹ author of the *Historia Sacramentaria*. He lived to the year 1563.—Echslin was released, after having been put to the torture at Lucerne. He likewise took refuge in the canton of Zurich, and became a pastor there.

The sentence against the Wirths involved the confiscation of the property of the family: but, through the interference of the cantons of Basle, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, which had not concurred in their condemnation, that part of the penalty was remitted: the widow was barbarously ordered—

¹ I am not able to trace Wirth and Hospinian; but the latter name. i. 308.

women to the executioner who had beheaded her husband and her son! Nor did the blood of these victims appease the Roman-catholics: they wished to punish by military execution the villages whose inhabitants, or even a small part of them, had been concerned in the burning of the convent of Ittingen. The council of Zurich had sufficient influence to restrain them from going beyond the imposition of a pecuniary fine upon the townships.¹

The government of Zurich now felt it necessary to provide against any more direct and open measures of hostility, which their adversaries might adopt. They addressed themselves to the four cantons of Berne, Glaris, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, which either maintained the reformation, or at least tolerated it without that animosity which some others manifested. They called their attention especially to the conduct of the six cantons, which had declared their resolution not to admit the deputies of Zurich into the national assembly, pointing out the fatal schism to which such a determination must lead, and entreating them to interpose to moderate the minds of their brethren towards them, and to procure them a patient hearing: and they begged that, at any further meeting of the cantons which should take place, they would confer with Basle and Soleure upon this subject. The six cantons returned a favourable answer, and henceforward shewed a more decided disposition to befriend Zurich. The council at the same time began to be well assured of the disposition of their own people towards them, and they had

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Pre-
cautionary
measures
of Zurich.

¹ Ro. i. 255—269.

² Ber, and Rhan. (see

PL. II.

Bullinger.

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of late pursued, caused the several communities into which the country was divided to be assembled, and stated to them what they had in contemplation, in addition to what had already been done, in the matter of religion, and the consequences it might entail upon them: and desired to know their sentiments, and how far the government might rely upon their support. The meetings were very unanimous in assuring their rulers of the readiness of the people to stand by them, with faithful attachment, under every emergency. The hostile cantons, in the mean time, anticipating that the dispute might ultimately issue in civil war, endeavoured to strengthen their party, and for this end sought a special alliance with the people of the Vallais, confederates of the Swiss republic.¹

Surrender
of the
abbey of
Frauen-
munster;

Thus fortified, and favoured also by circumstances, the council of Zurich went boldly forward with its reforms. There existed at Zurich an ancient and wealthy abbey, of royal foundation, known by the name of Frauenmunster, for the reception of ladies of quality only. This society of females exercised many sovereign rights within, and even over the city; including those of coining all the money circulated, and nominating the persons who should preside in the tribunals of justice.² The present abbess, on the thirtieth of November 1524, of her own accord resigned all the rights and possessions of the institution to the magistrates, entreating them to employ the

¹ Ru. i. 263, 267, 268. Gerd. i. 309. Hess, 172.

² This state of things, which existed in other places besides Zurich, seems to have arisen from the rich monastic foundations not having been raised by the towns, but preceded, and formed the towns by the population they gathered about them.—Planta's *Helv. Confed.*

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revenues for the glory of God and the relief of the poor, and only reserving for herself and her nuns suitable pensions. It need not be said, that the magistrates readily accepted a cession, which, besides all other considerations, was necessary to make them independent within their own city, and to enable them to exercise the full powers of civil governors. As soon as circumstances would permit, they established in the abbey, and supported by its revenues, a college for the gratuitous maintenance and instruction of a number of young men, destined, principally, for the service of the church: and, in consequence of this change, the city of Zurich, in the year 1526, for the first time coined money, and established courts of justice in its own name.¹

Some similar changes about the same time took place with respect to the chapter of canons. This body had possessed jurisdiction, and exercised other rights of sovereignty, independently of the civil government. Zwingle, who had been now for some time a member of the chapter, considered such powers as incompatible equally with the good of the state, the character of the clergy, and the best interests of the church: and so much had the influence of his principles pervaded even the chapter itself, that it now resigned these rights to the magistracy of the town. The recitation of the canonical hours was also discontinued, and, in lieu of it, the practice was adopted of the ministers and professors residing in the choir of the cathedral church, every week, to read the scriptures in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German language, and

and of the
royalties of
the chapter.

December.

¹ Ru. i. 271 2

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different members of the ecclesiastical body, the students, and such of the people as chose to attend—beginning and concluding with prayer; a practice which was found much to promote edification, and the diffusion of scriptural knowledge among persons of various classes, who valued such acquisitions.¹

Suppres-
sion of the
mendicant
orders.

December.

Nor did these proceedings end here. The council determined no longer to tolerate such an incumbrance upon the community as the mendicant monks, of whom there were several orders in the town. Such monks as were young and robust were required to learn trades, and support themselves by their own exertions. Those who had talents and inclination for study were furnished with the means of acquiring useful learning: while those who were aged, of all the different orders, were collected into the convent of the Franciscans, and there maintained at the public charge, or from the funds of suppressed monasteries. The convent of the Dominicans was converted into a hospital; and their church was made a fourth parish church for the benefit of the town. The other religious houses successively underwent similar changes, their revenues being applied to the relief of the sick, the poor, and destitute strangers. “Cupidity,” it has been affirmed, “had no part in this secularization: the property of the church was neither embezzled by individuals, nor swallowed up by the treasury: it only received a more enlightened, and more truly pious destination. The disinterestedness

¹ Ru. i. 294. Gerd. i. 310, 328. Hess (201—204.) seems to combine these changes with those before made: above, p. 457. He says the knowledge of the *original* scriptures became not uncommon at Zurich, even among the mercantile classes.

and moderation which presided over these arrangements do honour to Zwingle," whose vigilance and firmness disconcerted the projects of such as would have made the changes subservient to private interest.¹

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The popish cantons had this year recourse to an expedient somewhat novel on their side of the question. Perceiving the influence which the disputations of Zurich had had in promoting the reformation, and hearing the reformed constantly proclaim their readiness to discuss the disputed points afresh—a challenge which, being declined, still further prejudiced their cause with the people; they became exceedingly anxious to procure a public discussion, of which the result should be favourable to them. But they had great obstacles to overcome. The papal authorities had ever held, that such discussions could not lawfully take place without the sanction of the pope; and also that they were superfluous and even improper, all material questions relating to the faith having been already examined and determined by more competent judges. At this time, however, they found a zealous papal advocate, who, whether from a confidence in his own powers, and the vanity of displaying them, or from any more sincere zeal for his religion, was ready not only to embark in the service, but to maintain the right of the cantons to appoint a discussion,—“seeing that, so far back as the time of the emperor Constantius, S. Athanasius and Arius had disputed in the presence of Probus, governor of Syria, who did not even profess the Christian religion.” He wrote to the cantons, that, if the good

Disputation
at Baden
proposed by
the R. C.
Cantons.

Eckius.

¹ Hess. 204—207. (Ec. et Z. Epist. 38. Ru. i. 272. Gerd. i. 310.

people of Zurich would give him the hearing, “he hoped, by the help of God and his blessed Mother, they might be so convinced by his arguments as to wish *rather to be Turks than Lutherans!*”—This redoubted champion was no other than the celebrated Dr. Eckius of Ingoldstadt, well known in the history of the Lutheran reformation.¹ The Roman-catholic cantons accordingly proposed a disputation to be held at Baden, in the month of August, at which they engaged Eckius to take the lead on their side, and invited Zwingli to appear as the advocate of the opposite party. But the whole of the late conduct of these cantons; the proposal itself as proceeding from them; the sudden change of counsels which it implied; the eagerness they shewed for its adoption; the place at which the disputation was to be held—where the population was Roman-catholic, and had sufficiently displayed its temper on recent occasions; and particularly the terms of the safe conduct offered—which was to continue in force only to the close of the disputation, “when he that should be vanquished, and adjudged a heretic, should be punished as he deserved;” excited a strong suspicion, that the real object was to withdraw Zwingli from under the protection of the magistrates of Zurich, and then to take away his life. He refused therefore to attend a meeting “either at Baden or Lucerne,” though he declared himself ready to encounter Eckius “either at Zurich,² or, under a proper

¹ It seems he bore also the name of *Meyer*, or *Major*, as well as that of Von Eck. “Joh. Meyer, dictus Eck.” Gerd. ii. 276.

² “When Eckius offered to demonstrate the errors of Zwingli, we rejoiced to hear the proposal, and gave to

fe-conduct, at Schaffhausen, S. Gallen, or laris." And indeed the magistrates were so nvinced of the danger to which he would be posed, that they refused him permission to go Baden. He again, on this occasion, declared s detcrmination to admit no rule of judgment it the scriptures, or any one to pronounce finitively on the doctrines established.—Thus e proposal for the present proved abortive.¹

A. D.
1524.

The Roman-catholic cantons, though so de- rminately opposed to the sentiments of Zwin- e and of Luther, could not conceal from emselvcs the necessity of reformation in e multiplied cases of scandal, of oppression id extortion, or of shameful neglect, which ere every where presented to view in the anagement of the affairs of religion and the urch. They had, moreover, in their depu- tion to Zurich, expressly acknowledged the istence of many of these evils, the offence ey felt at them, and their readiness to concur applying a proper remedy:² and they clearly :ceived that there would be no possibility ' arresting the progress of that system ' reform which they regarded with alarm and 'horrence, but by some improvement in the isting state of things. As therefore they w, to use their own language, "that the

Proposal of
reformation
by the R. C.
Cantons.

m and others an unexceptionable safe-conduct, earnestly horting him to come to Zurich for the purpose, and pro- ising him every kindness." Council of Zurich to the R. C. antons. Sleid. 78. (lib. iv.)

¹ Ru. i. 263—267. J. H. Hot. vii. 643—647
277. Zwingle wrote to Eckius a long letter d him plainly what he thought of his ob- otives; and what also of his conduct in pressing a- gainst him before the government under r- ithout communicating them to him. Z. Op.
Doc. No. 14. ² Above, p.

supreme pastor and the subordinate rulers of the church slept in the midst of the troubles which prevailed," they took upon themselves, ("conceiving it to devolve on them as their duty,") by their deputies assembled at Lucerne, with those of the Vallois, to draw up a scheme for the reformation of ecclesiastical abuses, to be proposed for general adoption in the country. As might have been expected, the reformation they projected had reference to little more than external matters. They required that the clergy should not exact fees for administering the sacraments; should live in a regular and decorous manner; (for "they were resolved," they said, "no longer to tolerate the disorders of which men bearing a sacred character had been guilty";) should possess only one benefice, and should reside upon it; should restrict ecclesiastical jurisdiction and censures within their proper province; should themselves give absolution in all cases which required it, without reserving any to the pope or the bishop. They forbade the sale of indulgences, and the soliciting the sick to make bequests to their priests, or to the church: and they asserted the right of civil magistrates to take cognizance of the offences of ecclesiastics equally with those of their lay subjects. By such regulations they hoped to remove those causes of discontent, which disposed men to welcome the opinions and the proposals of the reformers. But, as the modern biographer of Zwingli justly observes, "they did not perceive that most of the abuses, generally complained of, were the necessary consequences of the abuses combated by Zwingli" and that, while these were sufficient to obviate the in-

REFORMATION, TO A. D. 1525.

which flowed from them.¹ Even this superficial reformation, however, was too much opposed to the interests and habits of the clergy, and of those connected with them, to be admitted. Berne alone adopted the regulations, with some alteration, and published them in its territories the year following; while the other cantons declined them, determining to refer all changes that might be necessary to the long promised general council.² Thus had this proposal for reformation the same result with all that proceeded from that party, and particularly that of the commission of cardinals appointed by pope Paul III, several years afterwards.³

We have before stated, that the four cantons of Berne, Glaris, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel had favourably entertained the application made to them by the government of Zurich, to interpose between that state and those which were so violently incensed against it. Basle also now shewed a disposition to look with a more friendly eye upon Zurich. The council availed itself of this opportunity to address to the members of the Helvetic confederation at large a manifesto, complaining of the great and repeated injuries which Zurich had sustained; tracing up all the violence displayed towards it, 1. To its refusing some years before to enter into the alliance with the French king, and thus to render itself his pensionary, and to live at its people to perish in foreign wars: 2. To its not receiving the reformation: and 3. To its false charges and gross calumnies against

¹ Hess, 195. ² Ru. 1.

³ Above, vol. i. 197—200

CHAP.
XVI.

the canton; and too readily credited by its allies. The two former occasions of offence the council justified: the last it endeavoured to repel and do away. So far from being excluded from the general diet, they urged that they ought to be heard; and, if any thing could be established against them, let it be so, and they would be ready to apologize for it and amend it: "but let not the peace of Switzerland be broken by prejudices rashly taken up, and retained without examination." The manifesto concluded with declaring, that, "as they had often said before, the people of Zurich would be ready to submit to better information; but, unless it were proved from scripture that they had erred, they could not depart from those decrees which they had made concerning religion, whatever force might be directed against them on that account."¹

Brief of the
Pope.
Feb. 14.

Even at this period, the pope had not abandoned the hope of reclaiming Zurich, and retaining it in its allegiance to the holy see. In the month of February he wrote both to that canton and to Schaffhausen, addressing the magistrates and citizens in the most flattering terms, praising their past fidelity, and casting all the blame, of any more recent departure from such a laudable course, on the impious men who had seduced them by assuming the name of reformers.²

Writings of
Zwingle.

There were other writings, however, which produced more effect in Switzerland than those of the pope. At the close of the year 1524, and the beginning of 1525, Zwingle published several useful, and some very important works. Not to mention here any of his writings against

¹ Sleidan, 76—79. (lib. iv.)

² Ruchat, i. 291, 499—507.

the Anabaptists, who how began to shew themselves in Switzerland, he addressed an "Exposition" to Fridolin Lindower, a minister of Bremgarten, against two dogmas which he had advanced, namely, "that Christ suffered only for the sins of those who lived under the old Testament;" and "that no other sins are forgiven us through Christ than those which are washed away in baptism—such as follow afterwards being to be removed by the other sacraments of the church." Fancies like these are not worth recording, except it be to warn us against leaning to our own understandings, and indulging a passion for making *discoveries* in religion.—Zwingle also defended his work on the canon of the mass against Emser of Leipsic, who had attacked it.¹

A. D.
1525.
Lindower.

At this time Valentine Compar, public secretary of the canton of Uri, wrote against Zwingle a work, which the author first read in a general assembly of the canton, and then published. Zwingle, in replying to him, readily acknowledged that he had defended the church of Rome in as able a manner as the case admitted, and in the spirit of one sincerely engaged in the search after truth. In consequence, the reformer answers him with great courtesy. In this work, among other interesting passages, Zwingle gives an extended account of the strange superstitions in which the people had been living, with respect to images and the saints. Many expected to obtain pardon of their sins by merely touching a certain statue. The pagans, he affirms, never committed more gross idolatry than that which was practised towards the virgin Mary at

Val.
Compar.

April.

Worship
of Images
and Saints.

¹ Gerd. i. 315, 316. Zuing. Op. i. 192 &c. 202 &c.

Loretto, Lausanne, and Einsidlin. This superstition had increased prodigiously within the last generation ; insomuch that there were many persons then living, and not very far advanced in age, who remembered that in their youth not a hundredth part of the images existed, which were now to be seen. In the mountainous parts of the country the number was still small, as compared with those of the other parts : indeed, says our author, so much are these idols multiplied “ that, if only every ten of them consumed as much food as one sheep would do, the country could not support them.” A great proportion of them also were of a kind suited to give scandal, and to excite the sensual passions rather than to inspire devotion.¹ The clergy, however, drew from them immense revenues. He knew a monastery (meaning Einsidlin,) to which more than a million of gold had been given ;² and which possessed jewels and other costly articles, which no prince had the means of purchasing at one tenth part of their value.³

But the most important, perhaps, of all Zwingle's works appeared at this time. This was his “ *Treatise of true and false Religion*.”⁴ It was composed at the request of various learned persons in France and Italy, to explain the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, as well as to expose the errors of popery ; and, by the advice of his friends in the former country, the author dedicated it to the French king, Francis I. This great work, though it contains some things justly thought excep-

¹ Melancthon makes the same complaint, in strong terms.

² “ Plus d'un million d'or.”

³ Ru. i. 292-294. Gerd. ii. 284-288. Zuing. Op. i. fo. 226-264.

⁴ Zuing. Op. ii. fo. 158—242.

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1525.

mable, is yet "a noble monument of the
 thor's piety, learning, and intellectual powers,
 well as a decisive proof of the blessed
 covery of Christian truth in Switzerland at
 at time." In a future chapter we propose
 give a more particular account of it: for the
 esent we only add, that Zwingli, having
 ven offence by calling original sin a *disease*,
malady, added an Apology, or defence
 his work, addressed to Urban Regius, then
 pastor of Augsburg. Ruchat remarks, that
 was certainly wronged on this subject, since,
 ough he uses the term just noticed, he yet
 aintains, "that fallen man is naturally inclined
 hate God and the will of God, and that this
 elination is deserving of eternal death."²
 at this subject also will hereafter claim a share
 our attention.

In an appendix to this work Zwingli again
 scussed the subject of the eucharist and the
 as; justly considering the doctrine of the
 rporal presence as the source of the grossest
 rors and superstitions. Happily, whatever
 ferences might subsist between him and the
 erman divines upon this subject, his col-
 agues in Switzerland were nearly unanimous
 their agreement with him respecting it: and
 e time had now arrived for establishing at
 uric a reformation in the mode of celebrating
 that ordinance, in which the Saviour had
 manded his disciples to commemorate his
 crifice of himself for their redemption. Ever
 ice the last disputation, the council had been
 solved to abolish the superstitious rite of
 as, as soon as the public mind should be
 be prepared for the change. In consequ

Abolition
of the Mass
at Zurich.¹ Dr. Milner, V. 400. (994.)² Ru. i. 299. Mel. Ad. in Regio, i. 34.

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XVI.

Am-Grut.

of the preaching of the reformed ministers, and the orders already promulgated, the mass had fallen into great neglect. At length, on the eleventh of April, the three pastors, Zwingli, Engelhardt, and Leo Jude, accompanied by Megander, chaplain of the hospital, and Myconius preacher in the abbey church, presented themselves before the council, and demanded that the mass, having been long since proved to be contrary to scripture, and full of idolatry, should be formally abolished, and the celebration of the eucharist according to Christ's holy institution substituted in its place. The demand was strongly opposed by the under secretary of the council, Joachim Am-Grut—who apologized for his interference, on the ground of its being not a civil or political question, but one that concerned the salvation of the soul. He charged Zwingli's interpretations of scripture, particularly in understanding the words "This is my body" to mean *This represents* my body, with being sophistical and unsound. Zwingli defended his sentiments; and Engelhardt ("formerly," says Zwingli, "a doctor of the pontifical law, but now a humble disciple of Christ,") shewed the different senses in which the term, "the body of Christ," is used in scripture: 1. For his infirm human body, liable to hunger, fatigue, and suffering: 2. For his glorified body, in which he now sits at the right hand of God: and 3. For his mystical body, the church; and that according to none of these senses could the body of Christ be literally eaten in the supper: and he further expostulated against the doctrine as at once a most pernicious and most foolish error, founded on a mode of interpreting scripture, in which the usage of language and all common sense

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1525.

are equally disregarded; and also our Lord's intimate intimation of his meaning, when, speaking of eating his flesh and drinking his blood, he warns us against a carnal or literal interpretation, and says, "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life."¹—The council ordered four of its members and the above-named clergy to consult together of the course to be pursued. They deferred their report no longer than till the next day, when they recommended to the council the immediate abolition of the mass. Am-Grutain opposed, and urged against the instances which Zwingli had adduced of its being used to signify or represent, that they all occurred in parables—"the seed is the word"—"the field is the world"—and others; and that they were therefore not satisfactory. Zwingli decided that this was the case: they occurred, he said, *after* the parables, in the *explanation* of them. He also distinguished between parables, in which particular words occurred according to their customary usage, and tropes and metonymies, which bestow on terms a new borrowed sense.—The council the same day passed a decree conformable to the recommendation of their commissioners, abolishing the mass, and ordering the eucharist to be henceforward celebrated according to the institution of Christ, and the apostolical practice. The altars were accordingly removed from the churches, and replaced by communion tables in regular order for the administration of the eucharist was drawn up and published, and scandalous offenders were excluded from communicating, &c.

April 12.

¹ John vi. 63.

also mingled with those of the night. In a dream, he imagined himself again engaged in dispute with the secretary, and somewhat embarrassed by his objection, which he could recollect no instance directly to rebut; when, suddenly, he says, “a monitor seemed to stand by me, (whether he was white or black, I do not at all remember—for I am relating a dream,) who said, ‘Simple man, why do you not answer him from the twelfth chapter of Exodus, *It (the lamb) is the Lord’s passover*’—his *passing over* the children of Israel. “Immediately,” he proceeds, “I awoke, and sprang out of bed: I examined the words in the Septuagint, and (the next day) publicly discoursed upon them, with so much success as to remove every doubt from the minds of all who sought to understand the scriptures: and such sacraments followed,” on the three days above mentioned, “as I never at any other time witnessed.”

Whether the instance thus adduced is more satisfactory than the others; or whether any one more satisfactory needed to be adduced; or to what precise source we are to trace the occurrence to Zwingle’s mind of this passage, which had been previously overlooked: these are not the questions which we are now called to examine. However it may be accounted for, there are, I apprehend, few reflecting persons who have not found instances, in which subjects that had previously much engaged their thoughts have been presented to them during sleep, or at the very moment of awaking out of sleep, in even a clearer light than at any other time: and any such person might, on an occasion of that kind, as innocently as Zwingle did, have used his words—

“Ater an albus ille monitor, nihil memini—” without intending to refer their thoughts immediately to the agency of either a good spirit or an evil one. Erasmus, in his book of Adages, shews that the words in question have been, from ancient times, used as a proverbial expression, merely equivalent to this, “I can give no account of the matter;” and in that sense Zwingle himself *frequently* uses them. Most unjustly therefore has he been charged with profanely intimating, that, on the present occasion, he was assisted indeed by immediate inspiration, but that he knew not, and scarcely cared to know, whether it were a *black* inspiration, or one of heavenly origin. Nay, just as in Luther’s case, with respect to his having been, as it is pretended, “taught by the devil that the mass is no sacrifice,” so here some have affected to treat Zwingle’s whole doctrine of the sacrament as confessedly thus communicated to him; whereas he had taught that doctrine long before, and now speaks of nothing more than this single text, in reply to the cavil of Am-Grut, having occurred to him in the manner which he describes. But the fact is, that Zwingle neither ascribes a suggestion, which proved so useful to him, to an evil source, nor even leaves us in any doubt as to the source to which he thought it was to be ascribed. Directly or indirectly it is, in his opinion, to be referred to God. “I relate the truth,” he says, “and that such a truth that my conscience compels me, whatever reluctance I may feel, (as being well aware of the ridicule to which it may expose me,) to avow what THE LORD hath imparted to me.” All therefore that he meant by the expression, of which

A. D.
1525.

(Ater an
albus.)

SOMEWHAT OF REFORMATION. THE LATTER
one party who were willing to insinuate
Zwingle had acknowledged himself
derived his doctrine of the sacrament
infernally source: and concerning *the*
trious founder it is, that it has be-
more industriously circulated, and more
widely believed,¹ that he had confessed
having received his doctrine, upon the
same subject, from the same evil source.
us beware how we mete out to others
measure and unrighteous judgment, let
what judgment we judge we should
be judged," and "with what measure
it should be measured to us again."²

In his work on the canon of the
years before, Zwingle had proposed
canon, or formulary, to be substituted
which he demonstrated to be surcharged
absurdity and impiety: but, in the re-
spect of the changes now made, he
correspondence with his friends, that
that his proposal had not been adopted
would but have palliated the evil which
and was now likely, to be entirely eradicated.

¹ Vol. i. App. No. 3.

² Ru. i. 300—306. Gerd. i. 318—327, and I.

The subversion of "the grand idol" of the mass must be considered, if not as a crowning act, yet as an event so decisive as to mark an epoch in the reformation of Zurich. The establishment of a consistorial court, for the decision of matrimonial and other causes, which had hitherto been carried before the bishop of Constance, soon followed, and served at once to relieve the citizens from burdensome exactions and delays, and still further to break their connexion with the Romish hierarchy.— More convents also were now surrendered. There were in the canton two abbeys of canons regular, that of Embrach and that of Ruti. Henry Brenwald, the provost of the former, with the consent of his chapter, surrendered it into the hands of the magistrates. The abbot of the other, Felix Kuser, fled in the night to Rapperswyl, taking with him the writings and all the moveable treasures of the abbey. This led to some disorders. The country people pursued him, deprived him of his booty, and pillaged the abbey.

A. D.
1525.

Establish-
ment of a
Consistory.

Surrender
of religious
houses.

We may here notice an important measure, of which the first step was about this time taken, and which in Switzerland, as well as in Germany, produced the most powerful and

Translation
of the
scriptures.

wavering, and to remove any scruples which might still linger with the weak, as well as to supply any omissions into which the hurry of the times might have betrayed him, he now published his "*Subsidium sive Coronis de Eucharistia*:" Op. ii. fo. 243—255. He complains, in his prefatory address, of the circumstances in which he was placed compelling him to appear in print again and again, and to break all his purposes of seeking retirement, and opportunity for more fully maturing what he brought before the public: "*Quo fit,*" he says, "*ut omnia nostra impetus justius appelles, quam libros.*" This was exactly the complaint which Luther made. See vol. i. 523-4.

permanent effects. I refer to the giving of the scriptures to the people in the vulgar tongue. Luther had, in the year 1523, published the Pentateuch and the historical books of the Old Testament, translated from the original Hebrew into the German language. The divines of Zurich now revised his translation, adapted it to the Swiss dialect of the German, and printed it in 1525. With the rest of the sacred writings they proceeded for themselves, and published the remainder of the Old Testament in 1529, and the whole together, revised, in 1531. Leo Jude and Caspar Megander had the principal share in the work : but Zwingle himself, and some others also bore a part in it. About the same time an anabaptist teacher, a man of learning, published a translation of the Prophets from the original ; and to the general fidelity of his version the learned men of Zurich bore honourable testimony.—Luther's translation of the Old Testament was not completed till two years after that of the Swiss reformers.¹

Unfavour-
able events.

The mention of the anabaptist translator (though honourable with respect to him individually,) may lead us to advert to three lamentable events which occurred about this time, and materially impeded the progress of the reformation. These were, the rustic war, or extensive rebellion of the peasants in Germany, which was accompanied with some movements of the same kind, though comparatively slight, in Switzerland ; the sacramentarian controversy, which arose between Luther and Zwingle, and which has ever since divided their followers ; and the prevalence of the extravagant doctrines and practices of the

¹ Ru. i. 297-8. Gerd i. 327-8.

A. D.
1525.

fanatical anabaptists. On none of these painful subjects, however, need we enlarge. They have all been treated of at sufficient length for the purposes of this history, in Dr. Milner's part of the work. We only here then remark, with respect to the last mentioned of these evils which infested the church, that we have not yet arrived at that period at which my excellent predecessor finds reason to censure the intolerance of Zwingli and of the council of Zurich. Hitherto the disorders of the anabaptists had drawn upon them nothing beyond gentle chastisement in the reformed cantons, though in the popish states some of them had suffered a cruel death.¹

¹ Ruchat, i. 277—291. Gerd. ii. 316—318. Milner, v. 496, 504—514. (1095, 1104—1114.) Zwingli published his treatise "De Baptismo" (I believe his first work on the subject,) in May, 1525.—The assertion of the fair translator of Hess's Life of Zwingli, that, "had not the fanatics rendered adult baptism the badge of their sect, Zwingli would apparently have embraced it, as most conformable to the scriptural notion of that rite," may perhaps convey her own sentiments concerning the disputed question of baptism, but that it states a fact concerning the reformer I find no reason to believe. I apprehend it to be a mere gratuitous assumption. The three theses maintained by Zwingli at the great disputation with the anabaptists in November, 1525, at which Joner of Cappel, Schmidt of Kusnacht, Hoffmeister of Schaffhausen, and Vadian of S. Gallen, presided, were "1. That infants born of believing parents are the children of God, as they were under the Old Testament: 2. That baptism under the New Testament is the same thing with circumcision under the Old: 3. That the practice of re-baptizing be supported from scripture; and that they who baptized crucify Jesus Christ afresh." The last of these theses is acknowledged to be a strange addition.

I cannot but express a hope and belief, in the painful sentence which Dr. Milner (v. (1126,)) quotes from one of Zwingli's latest works—"Cum in antea Catabaptistæ merito somnium dormiant et a quo nunquam expergeant"—does not convey

Though, then, we close the present chapter with an allusion to painful facts, we must remember with thankfulness that the general course of the events which it details is highly gratifying, and such as leaves the cause of the reformation in a very promising degree of establishment in Switzerland.

idea of consigning them to the everlasting *pains of* "HELL," but only that of somewhat indefinitely abandoning them to that *sleep* of the soul for which they foolishly contended. It does not need to be made *worse* than it really is.

CHAPTER XVII.

PROGRESS OF THE SWISS REFORMATION TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1527.

WE have brought down the history of the reformation of Zurich to the middle of the year 1525. Let us now cast our eyes around upon the neighbouring cantons, and review the progress which the same work was making in them. We shall notice only those places where, though powerful opposition might be offered, it was eventually overcome, and some decisive success at length obtained.

A. D.
1525.

Progress of
the reformation—

Berne may first claim our attention. Here at Berne ; the advance was at present but slow. In April, 1524, the council, in consequence of the deviations from established usage which had taken place, published an edict forbidding the clergy to marry, on pain of deprivation ; as also the eating of meat in lent, and speaking against the invocation of the saints. At the same time, however, they required the priests to put away their concubines, under a like penalty : and they assured the people of Zurich of their friendly disposition towards them.—The bishop of Lausanne having liberated an impostor whom the council had imprisoned for a fictitious indulgence, they expostulated freely with him : and, when he attempted to exact an impost from the priests of Mor

of the profits of the masses there celebrated, they plainly told him that they would not suffer it to be paid.—Disputes frequently arose in the city, on account of the contrary doctrines preached by the friends and the opponents of the reformation. Heim, a Dominican, having said in the pulpit, “that Jesus Christ had not, according to the dogmas of the new evangelists, alone made satisfaction for us, but that each one must make it for himself;” two of his hearers exclaimed, that he taught false doctrine. The offenders were committed to prison; and the council caused both them, and Heim, and Sebastian Meyer,¹ the reformer, to be brought before them; and, having heard the two latter dispute together for some time, they resolved, in hope of promoting the peace of the city, to banish them both from it. Meyer retired to Basle:² but Haller still continued to prosecute his labours at Berne. In the month of November, the council renewed, for substance, their two former edicts, commanding that the gospel should be faithfully preached, but that at the same time the customary observances should be retained. They, however, in this edict, made light of papal excommunication, and of dispensations and indulgences granted for money; observing, that “what was lawful on the payment of money could not be unlawful without it.” But they deprived three canons for marrying—or rather *two* of them; for the third, Thuring Rust, abbot of Troub, voluntarily resigned his preferment in order to marry; and supported himself by a mechanical trade, till on the establishment of the reformation he became minister of Laupersvyl.³

¹ Above, p. 382, 423.² Gerd. ii. 263 (c).³ Ru. i. 218—226. Gerd. ii. 262—264.

In the former part of the ensuing year, the proceedings of the council were more decidedly favourable. As before observed, they adopted, but with considerable improvements, the scheme of reformation proposed by the Roman-catholic cantons.¹ In doing this, they allowed every one to think and act as he pleased respecting the recitation of the canonical hours, the doctrine of purgatory, and some other particulars: they resolved not to deprive married priests: they forbade absolutely the sale of indulgences, and the admission of strangers, sent by the court of Rome, to benefices: and, “as the bishops and other ecclesiastical judges did not punish offending churchmen as they deserved, but rather connived at their crimes, by which means wickedness daily increased, and disturbed the good order of society,)” they determined in future to punish such persons in the same manner as their lay fellow-subjects. They also sanctioned the reading of the scriptures, and of books which were conformable to them: and they concluded with enjoining the different parties to live in peace, and to abstain from mutual reproaches.—In all this we read with pleasure of what tended to open the door to the admission and diffusion of divine truth: but on the present, as on many other occasions, we have to lament that we are so much more fully informed what governments and magistrates were induced to do, than what was more directly effected by the preaching of the gospel.—Not only did a Carthusian monk, who was much respected, now surprise the people of Berne by quitting his order and marrying; but, towards the end of the year, Watteville,

¹ Above, p. 509.

before mentioned as provost of the cathedral,¹ “a man as much esteemed for his character and learning as for his rank,” voluntarily resigned his dignity and the other benefices which he held, and married a lady of the first respectability, with the consent, it is especially noticed, of her father and brothers—for, a little time before, such a marriage would have been thought impious, and therefore disgraceful. Watteville had been in favour with the pope and many prelates, and had the prospect of being himself advanced to the episcopate; but “regard to liberty of conscience,” says Stetler, and, Ruchat adds also, “the love of God and of truth, and concern for his own salvation, banished from his heart ambition, the love of riches, and the hope of advancing himself in life.” Zwingle congratulates him on his marriage, and speaks of his wife’s father (Claude Mey) as a zealous friend of reformed principles.²

Mulhausen.

Mulhausen, a small independent town,³ a member of the Swiss confederation, though situate beyond the frontiers, in Alsace, had the honour of even preceding Zurich in the abolition of the mass. In the year 1523, Ulric Hutten,⁴ a friend, though a somewhat intemperate friend, of the reformation resided there: and at the same time Augustine Kremer preached the gospel zealously. The magistrates, however, at that period resisted any further changes than the following: that baptism should be administered in the vulgar tongue; that the children in the school should learn to sing the

¹ Above, p. 454. ² Ru. i. 315—319. Gerd. ii. 291.

³ Still protestant, and a prosperous place: its territory comprised within a precinct of eight miles. Coxe, Let. 17.

⁴ Milner, v. 267, 854.

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Psalms in German ; that the people should receive the eucharist in both kinds ; and that, in lieu of matins, they should have sermons and prayers. Even this drew upon the town an excommunication from the bishop of Basle : but the magistrates treated it with contempt.¹ The next year they required the priests either to separate from their concubines, or to marry them ; and ordered a public discussion to be held, to which they invited assistance from Basle : and after the close of it they abolished the mass.²

1524.

Basle.

At Basle, Œcolampadius prosecuted his labours with indefatigable zeal and great success. His acknowledged talents, the evangelical purity of his doctrine, and the sanctity of his life, conciliated for him the greatest veneration, and drew crowded audiences constantly to hear him ; amongst whom the principles which he inculcated made a rapid progress. The number of his fellow labourers also increased. Wolfgang Weissenburg, minister of the parish of the Hospital, Mark Bersi of S. Leonard's parish, Thomas Ghierfalk, preacher of the Augustins, besides those previously mentioned,³ are enumerated : and they were all supported by Caspar Schaller, the secretary of the government. The opposition

¹ From early times the Swiss appear to have known better than other states of Christendom how to deal with the thunders of Rome. In the year 1328, a papal excommunication issued against them being announced to the cantons, " the people asked the priests, whether they would continue to read the service, and sing the litany as usual, or else submit to immediate exile." The pope acknowledged that the priests, in making the former option, had acted wisely, though not canonically. Planta's *Helvet. Confed.* i. 185.

² Ru. i. 188, 226. Gerd. ii. 255, 267.

³ Above. pp. 367, 418, 419.

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also made to them was powerful and acrimonious: but it proved unsuccessful.—In the early part of the year 1524, Stephen Stoer, pastor of Lichstall, having married, and finding himself exposed to much reproach on that account, offered to justify what he had done in a public disputation at Basle. In compliance with the solicitations of his parishioners, the council allowed him to do so; and Lichstall maintained theses asserting the right of the clergy to marry, and that the most fatal consequences had arisen from denying them this right. He challenged any persons on the part of the bishop, the chapter, or the university, to maintain the contrary side against him: but no person of any consequence appeared: and, in answer to questions publicly proposed by him, most of the learned persons present—Pellican, Hartmund of Cronberg,¹ Wirben of Bienne, Immelinus, Weissenberg, Wolfhardt, and others—expressed their agreement with him.

1524.

Many attempts being made, partly by friends of the reformation and partly by its enemies, to withdraw or otherwise remove *Æcolampadius* from Basle,² it was in some measure for the purpose of more fully fixing him there, that he was at this time presented to the living of S. Martin's church, of which he had served the curacy, with very little remuneration for a year past.³ He accepted the appointment on condition that he should preach whatever he found in the scriptures, and that the popish ceremonies should be dispensed with. Accord-

¹ Milner, v. 98, 571. (673. (10).)

² One was from the well-known Cochläus, who lamented that such a man should lend himself to be a ringleader in the Lutheran heresy. Mel. Ad. i. 24.

³ Above p. 455.

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ingly baptism was in his church administered in the vulgar tongue, and the eucharist given in both kinds; and he preached in so forcible a manner against the mass, purgatory, the use of holy water, the processions, and other observances or doctrines of the church of Rome, as brought them into neglect with the chaplains dependent on his church.¹ On his appointment to S. Martin's, expectations of considerable emolument were held out to him, with the prospect of further preferment: but he declined them all, declaring that he desired nothing beyond a decent subsistence.

The principal citizens now proceeded to demand of the Franciscans, that, in lieu of the numerous masses which were said, and of which the people understood nothing, they should cause "a short sermon of half an hour" to be preached to them every morning, in their church: but the monks replied, "that week-day sermons savoured of Lutheranism." The citizens, in consequence of this refusal, withheld their alms from these mendicants.—The council soon after signified to the abbess and nuns of the convent of Klingenthal, that, as their mode of life had no sanction from scripture, they were at liberty to quit the house; and that those who chose to do so should be provided for, either in married life, or in any other honest state: while those who chose to remain might do it, but must maintain a conduct free from reproach.

Early in this year, William Farel, who will hereafter claim our attention as the upright and able, though sometimes too ardent, re-

Farel's visit
to Basle.

¹ "Chapelains de son eglise."

former of that part of Switzerland in which the French language is spoken, came to Basle, and in the opinion of some exposed the cause of the reformation to a degree of risk, by a proceeding for which the public mind was scarcely prepared. He professed a wish to discuss with the learned men of the place several controverted points, that if his own views of them were wrong he might be set right, or, if they were right, that he might be confirmed in them. But the heads of the university, having pronounced his theses to be heretical, would not suffer them to be publicly maintained. The council, however, consented to their being submitted to discussion. These theses asserted the sufficiency of scripture, and of the one sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and were directed against popish errors generally. The publication of them excited a strong sensation. The vicar-general of the bishop, with the rector and leading members of the university, forbade the students, and others dependent on them, to take any part in the discussion, under pain of expulsion and excommunication. The magistrates, regarding this prohibition as an insult offered to them, ordered the interdicted persons to attend and assist, on pain of banishment. Farcl accordingly, on the fifteenth of February, maintained his theses before a numerous assembly. The Roman catholics were excessively irritated, and preached against the reformers and their proceedings with the most abusive virulence. The character of *Œcolampadius*, however, stood so high in the city, that they dared attempt but little against him: and in the end the magistrates published an edict, directing all preachers freely and without fear to publish the gospel to

their people, and, generally, whatever they found taught in the holy scriptures; and to be prepared to render to every one, that courteously asked it of them, a reason, drawn from scripture, for what they taught. They prohibited also the application of abusive or reproachful terms by one party to the other. The Roman catholics, however, had sufficient influence to compel Farel to quit Basle: and it must be confessed that his appearance there does not seem to have been well-judged. It was not his proper sphere of labour; and Basle might better perhaps have been left to Œcolampadius and the other faithful labourers to whose care providence had committed it.

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The year following, the government opened all the convents and religious houses, giving full liberty to those, who chose to avail themselves of it, to quit them. The divisions, however, to which these proceedings gave occasion, among the magistrates as well as among the people, were so great, that several of the reformed ministers were intimidated, and Œcolampadius was once led to complain, that he was left to labour alone. But he went forward in his work undismayed, and on All Saints' day, (November 1st,) 1525, administered the eucharist "with a simplicity that had never before been seen" in Basle. The ministers of S. Leonard's and S. Alban's churches copied his example; but they were ordered to restore the mass; while the weight of Œcolampadius's character protected his procedure from all censure.—How strikingly has this meek and holy man "added to his faith virtue" (boldness) since the time when timidity and morbid feelings impelled him to resign one situation and another, because he could not contend

Convents
opened at
Basle, 1525.

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XVII.Liberty of
the press.Advice of
Erasmus.

prevailing evils, and with persons to whom the truth was offensive and irritating.¹

The magistrates now felt themselves embarrassed on the subject of the liberty of the press, which, in such a state of things, was liable to much abuse: and, in their difficulty, they had recourse to Erasmus, (who had for several years resided among them,) asking his advice on this and some other topics. He told them that he was but a stranger in Switzerland, and incompetent to advise them: that he had determined to leave Basle at the ensuing lent, in order that he might not suffer the loss of his pension from the emperor, which had not been paid him for three years past: that, in gratitude, however, for the kindness which he had received among them, he would offer such suggestions as he could. With regard then to the press, he thought it not good that they should allow all works to be printed indiscriminately, but that they might suffer those of Pellican and Oecolampadius to pass without restraint.—Respecting images, chanting, and chrism, he regarded them as things indifferent; and was of opinion that it would be for the peace of Switzerland that Zurich should restore the mass and images, till the decision of a general council could be had concerning them: yet that war ought not to be waged against that state if it refused to do this. The pope might easily, he thought, be induced to allow communion in both kinds, and the eating of meat in lent; since in Italy dispensations for the latter practice might always be purchased. Such inhabitants of convents, as were incapable of maintaining themselves, had better, he said, remain where they

¹ Above, p. 375—377.

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were : and, for others, an imperial edict or a council might set them at liberty, and also give permission to priests to marry.¹—Such was the amount of the advice which the sage Erasmus, who was then, and has by many subsequently been esteemed the oracle of Christendom, had to offer : and it will doubtless be approved by all, who think that the objects for which the reformers contended were not of such importance, that it was worth risking the peace of society to secure them ; or that the whole dispute was to be settled by awarding concessions first on the one side and then on the other ; and reposing with unsuspecting confidence on the wisdom and equity of imperial diets, and on a council to be held when the pope and the princes of Europe could agree to its convocation.

At S. Gallen considerable progress was made, through the zealous ministry of John Kesler, lately returned from Wittemberg, and Wolfgang Ulman, late a monk of Coire ; and under the prudent management of the council, who now, after the example of Zurich, caused the images to be withdrawn from the churches without noise or tumult. They likewise published a decree, requiring the preachers to teach conformably to the scriptures alone. A visit also, which Leo Jude and Sebastian Hoffman made to the city, is said to have been very serviceable.²

¹ Scultet. 68, 69. Mel. Ad. i. 24. Ru. i. 226—238, 319—323. Gerd. ii. 268—272, 293---296. It was just at this period that Erasmus bore the high testimony, quoted by Dr. Milner, to Œcolampadius's book on the words, "This is my body" : but at the same time he wrote to his friends, that "the manners of the teachers of religion at Basle offended him more than their doctrines." Gerd. ii. 293—295.

² Scult. 70. Ru. i. 238. Gerd ii. 266-7.

CHAP.
XVII.

Appenzel.

1524. May.

In Appenzel, the general assembly of the people decreed, that the ministers should preach nothing which they could not support from the scriptures, on pain of banishment; that abuses should be abolished, but not the good and laudable rites of the church. The reformation had here many partizans, among both the clergy and the laity. The mass, in consequence of the decree just mentioned, suffered some intermission, but was restored again till the year 1526: when both it and images were abolished throughout that part of the canton, amounting to about two thirds of the whole, which still belongs to the reformed.¹

The
Rheinthal.

From Appenzel the light of the gospel penetrated into the Rheinthal, chiefly through the agency of some pious women: but, complaints being made of this to the ancient cantons, who, with Appenzel, were lords of the country, the majority of them ordered the bailiff to seize every Lutheran whom he could find there. The check, however, was temporary, and the reformation afterwards made progress, and was established in the country.²

Schaff-
hausen.

At Schaffhausen the reformation made important advances in the year 1524. There were at that place two considerable abbeyes, one for men, the other for women. The abbot of the former, after due consultation with the members of the house, surrendered it to the magistrates, desiring that, after the necessary allowances had been made to the present inmates, the surplus of the funds might be applied to the support of the churches, schools, and the poor. The abbess followed his example. He himself married in the year 1529, and lived, it is said,

¹ Ru. i. 239, 240, 395. Gerd. ii. 272, 324.

² Ru. i. 241, 394. Gerd. ii. 273, 324.

in a very pious manner, constantly blessing God for the reformation.—The council, in their proceedings had recourse to the advice of Œcolampadius, and they now gave to Ritter (before mentioned,¹) Wolfgang Biderman of Rothvyl, Beatus Guering of Zurich, and Benedict Burgawer of S. Gallen, for his coadjutors. Some heady and indiscreet friends of the reformation, however, much prejudiced its cause by taking upon them, of their own authority, to break and throw down images; by which they incurred fines and imprisonment, or banishment. The bishop of Constance availed himself of the circumstance, to entreat the citizens to return to that dutiful obedience to the church, which could alone secure their tranquillity. But the magistrates replied, that there was nothing which they more earnestly desired, than to have the pure word of God preached to them.—The next year still more disturbance 1525. was excited, which would hardly have been quieted without bloodshed, but for the timely interference of the deputies of Basle and Rothvyl, who happened to be present in the town. These disorders issued in the dismissal of Hoffmeister and Hoffman, and the progress of the reformation for the time received a check at Schaffhausen.² So much do men obstruct, or even forfeit, the objects of their desire, by aiming to seize them in a rash and improper manner.

At Bienne, Wytttenbach, who had not yet 1525. Bienne. passed his fifty-second year, married in 1524, and his example was followed by several other priests; who also joined him in omitting the celebration of private masses—or masses in

¹ Above p. 475.

² Ru. i. 241—243, 307-8, 394-5. Gerd. ii. 265-6, 288-9.

which the people were only spectators. But the attention of the cantons being called to these facts by Lewis Sterner, secretary of the government of Bienne, and a zealous papist, they strongly censured the council of that place for not having deposed the offenders, pronouncing the conduct of these persons, in contracting marriage, to be antichristian and subversive of religion. Wytttenbach submitted to the council a written defence of himself and his brethren, in which he mainly argues as a pastor, bound by his fidelity to contend for the principles of God's word against the impositions of men. But, in compliance with the demand of the cantons, the married clergy were deprived. We are told, however, that Wytttenbach continued to preach as successfully in a convent as he had done in the church, and by his meekness, benevolence, and piety increased in general esteem; while his adversary, Sterner drew upon himself disgust and hatred.

1525.

The next year, therefore, when the council required of the burghers a renewal of their oaths of fidelity, they, in return, presented several demands to the council, among which were the following: that the word of God, as contained in the Old and New Testaments, should be freely preached to them: that Dr. Wytttenbach should be restored, should preach in the principal church on sundays and holidays, and should have a liberal salary assigned him: that a competent schoolmaster should be appointed, who might train their children in Christian knowledge: that public immoralities should be restrained: and that masses for the dead should be discontinued, as unsupported by the scriptures, and of no use. The council

yielded to these demands: but the cantons, assembled at Lucerne, wrote to the bishop of Basle, who possessed a nominal sovereignty over Bienne,¹ requesting him to interpose both as a prince and a bishop. His efforts, however, were feeble: the Bernese encouraged the people of Bienne: the obnoxious secretary consulted his safety by flight; though he was afterwards restored: and the magistrates proceeded to abolish the mass, and apparently to follow in the steps of Zurich. Nor did the threats which the cantons subsequently addressed to them, on account of the encouragement which they gave to “the infamous and abominable Lutheran or Zwinglian sect and heresy,” induce them to alter their course.

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November.

Wytttenbach died two years after, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. This excellent man, a short time before his death, caused the principal members of the council to be called to his bedside, and told them, “that he looked for nothing else than to die very soon, and to go to give account to God of the ministry which had been committed to him.” He solemnly declared his conviction “that he had preached to them nothing but the truth, and exhorted them to hold it fast, and suffer nothing to turn them aside from it; assuring them that thus they might depend on attaining eternal life.”—He was succeeded by James Wirben, formerly a Franciscan monk.²

Death of
Wyttten-
bach. 1526.

The Tockenburgh was the native country of Zwingli. It acknowledged the abbot of S. Gallen for its temporal lord. The reformed

The Tock-
enburgh.

¹ “A protestant state under the nominal sovereignty of a Roman-catholic bishop.” Coxe, Let. 19

² Ru. i. 185, 243—250, 323—326, 403—408. Gerd. ii. 253-4, 297-8, 334-5.

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1524.

July.

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doctrine was introduced into this district by Maurice Miles, John Dœring, and Blaise Farer, respectively pastors of Watvyl, Hemberg, and Zum Stein. The council, at the request of the people of the country, ordered that the ministers should preach uniformly according to the purity of the gospel, without the addition of human dogmas and ordinances. The bishop of Constance complained of the innovators to the abbot of S. Gallen, and the abbot forwarded his complaints to the council; who, in consequence, summoned the preachers before them. The preachers pleaded that they had only acted in conformity with the decree which had been promulgated; and the council admitted their plea, and renewed the former order. The council of Schweitz, which canton had a special alliance with Tockenbourg, wrote to them with vehemence against the doctrine of Luther and Zwingle, holding out threats if they continued to encourage it: but they sent the letter to Zwingle, begging him to answer it, and defend his countrymen; which he did with zeal and spirit.¹ The following year the mass was abolished in four parishes. Schweitz and Glaris made great efforts to compel their neighbours to retrace their steps: but in vain. Some of the council, indeed, were intimidated, but the majority stood firm, and resolved to take the opinion of the several communities of the country; and these unanimously resolved to adhere to the word of God, and begged the council to support the orders they had already issued—which were accordingly republished.²

¹ Zuing. Op. i. fo. 149—151.

² Ru. i. 250—252, 327-8, 394-5, 482-3. Gerd. ii. 274—276, 324, 350-1.

REFORMATION, TO A. D. 1527.

Some disposition in favour of the reformation had manifested itself in Thurgau, when the deputies of five out of the seven cantons,¹ then lords of that district, assembled at Frauenfeld, ordered the priests throughout the country to retain and strictly observe all the usages of the church, under pain of deprivation and other severe penalties. Notwithstanding this order, several parishes by degrees renounced the popish doctrines and practices; the inhabitants going to hear the reformed preachers at Constance, Stein on the Rhine, Elk, and other places, and taking their children to be baptized by them. Even the inmates of the nunnery of Munsterlingen, near the lake of Constance, went to hear the preachers at Constance, disregarded the prohibition of meats, and gave other indications of casting off the old superstitions.²

The government of the Grisons, in the year 1524, imitated the example of the popish cantons, who, it has been seen, enacted or rather proposed laws for the reformation of the clergy, as a means of checking the progress of innovation. In a diet held at Ilantz, the capital of the Grey League, it was decreed, among other particulars, that parish priests should discharge their duty in instructing the people according to the word of God; and that, if they failed of doing this, or were found incompetent to do it, the parishioners should have liberty to choose others in their stead. In this and the following year, the inhabitants

¹ The ancient cantons with the exception of Berne—which has since been admitted to a share of the sovereignty. Starnheim, the residence of the Wirths, was within the limits of Thurgau.

² Ru. i. 253, 330—332, 394. Gard. ii. 324.

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of the valley of S. Anthony, of Flesch, and of Malantz, in the high jurisdiction of Mayenfeld, though surrounded by powerful neighbours addicted to the principles of the Romish church, embraced with one consent the reformed doctrine, and abolished the mass. This produced so strong an impression, that within a short time the new doctrine began to be preached by many priests, and was eagerly listened to by the people in various places throughout the three Leagues. Among these preachers, the most distinguished were Andrew Sigfrid and Andrew Fabritz, at Davos, the chief town of the Ten Jurisdictions; and, in the League of God's House, James Tuschet, or Biveroni, (before mentioned,¹) in Upper Engadina; Philip Salutz, or Gallitz, in Lower Engadina; and John Dorfman, or Comander, who, in pursuance of the late regulation of the diet, had been chosen parson of S. Martin's at Coire. The two last afterwards became colleagues in that city. "Comander was a man of learning, sound judgment, and warm piety. To these qualities Gallitz added great dexterity in the management of public business, an invincible command of temper, and uncommon eloquence both in his native tongue and in Latin."² More than forty learned and zealous men are enumerated, who preached the gospel faithfully in this country, encountering persecution, and several of them sacrificing very considerable prospects in life, for the sake of it.

J. Frick.

"The conversion of John Frick, parish priest

¹ Above, p. 420.

² M' Crie.—"He preached with so much grace and force, that he seemed not merely to speak to his hearers, but to imprint upon their hearts whatever he said." Ru. i. 274.

of Mayenfeld, was brought about in a singular manner. Being a zealous catholic, and of great note among his brethren, he had warmly resisted the new opinions when they first made their appearance. Filled with chagrin and alarm at the progress which he saw them making in his immediate neighbourhood, he repaired to Rome to implore the assistance of his holiness, and to consult on the best method of preventing his native country being overrun with heresy. But he was so struck with the irreligion which he observed in the court of Rome, and the ignorance and vice prevailing in Italy, that, returning home, he joined the party which he had opposed, and became the reformer of Mayenfeld. In his old age he used to say to his friends pleasantly, that he learned the gospel at Rome."—In the mean time the clergy, roused from their slumbers, had recourse to every means in their power to check the progress of the new opinions. "Bonds of adherence to the catholic faith were exacted from the parish priests. The most odious and horrid representations of the reformers and their tenets were circulated among the people." Anabaptists, banished from Switzerland, were encouraged, that by their extravagances the reformation might be disgraced. When the general diet of the Grison republic met at Coire, in the year 1525, the bishop (Paul Ziegler) and clergy presented a formal accusation against Comander and the other reformed preachers, to the number of forty, praying that they might be punished by the secular arm for propagating impious, scandalous, and seditious heresies. Comander, in the name of his brethren, declared his readiness to vindicate his doctrines against these

CHAP.
XVII.Disputation
of Ilantz.
Jan. 1526.

charges: in consequence of which a day was appointed for a conference, or disputation between the two parties, at Ilantz, in the presence of certain members of the diet. On this occasion the reformed were assisted by Hoffmeister and James Amman, professor of Greek at Zurich. The vicar general of the bishop of Coire, the abbot of S. Lucius in that city, a protonotary of the apostolic see, and numerous canons and priests, and many persons from distant parts attended; but, as usual, the Roman catholics endeavoured to evade discussion, and cried out against recurrence to the Greek and Hebrew scriptures as unnecessary, and productive of disorders; and the conference was abruptly broken off. But the result was decidedly favourable. An accession of seven fresh names was made to the number of reformed preachers; the articles which had been submitted for discussion, being printed, and circulated through the valleys, multiplied converts among the laity; henceforth the free exercise of the reformed as well as of the catholic religion was granted throughout the three Leagues; and the consequence was the permanent establishment of the reformation in the country.¹ Some difficulties indeed followed soon after, owing to an article for the maintenance of the ancient religion, which the bishop had sufficient influence to have inserted in a treaty, and under colour of which Gallitz, “whose talents and success rendered him pecu-

¹ Ru. i. 273—275, 408—416. Gerd. ii. 283-4, 292, 300—305. M'Crie's Ref. in Italy, 313—317. Hoffmeister published the Acts of the Disputation of Ilantz. One of the questions proposed by the Roman-catholic advocates on this occasion was, Why in Matt. xvi. Christ had changed the gender from *Petrus* to *Petra*.

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early obnoxious to the abettors of popery," was banished, and "several of his brethren were obliged to retire from the country to avoid the processes intended against them. But the city of Coire, in spite of their bishop, maintained Comander in his situation: this example was followed in other places; and, though the clergy endeavoured to push the advantage which they had gained, they found that a spirit was abroad in the nation too powerful for all their efforts." A statute, which "remains to this day the charter of religious liberty in the Grisons, was formally sealed and solemnly confirmed by the oaths of all the deputies at Nantz, on the 26th of June, 1526:" and "a national reformation was introduced, which so far as it went must have been attended with the most beneficial consequences to the state, and to individuals whether popish or protestant."

We now return to the affairs of Zurich. It has been seen that the six cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwitz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Friburg, had renounced all communication with that of Zurich, and determined no more to meet its deputies in the diet, till the changes it had made in religion should be revoked: and that, the other six cantons, Berne, Glaris, Basle, Soleure, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel had undertaken to mediate between the parties. The discharge of this office now much engaged the attention of these cantons: but so determined was the hostility of the Roman catholics,

Proceedings
of Zurich and
the Cantons

1525.

¹ I have added these sentences from Dr. M'Crie's interesting volume, pp. 317—323, where the reader may find further notices of some of the persons concerned in these transactions; particularly John Travers, who was "equally distinguished as a soldier and a scholar, a politician and a divine." Comander continued his labours till the year 1557. Gerd. ii. 283.

that there appeared no probability of propitiating them, unless Zurich would consent to re-establish the mass. A proposition to this effect was therefore made by the mediators to the council of Zurich, though it was suggested that their subjects might be left at liberty to attend the service or not as they pleased. The council, in reply, thanked their friends for their zeal to serve them, but urged that they had made no change except, as they apprehended, under the direction of the word of God: they could not therefore retrace their steps unless they were convinced of their error from the same sacred authority: but they earnestly besought the cantons to send as many learned men, versed in the scriptures, as they pleased, to Zurich, to confer with their divines, that it might be discovered on which side truth was to be found. This reply still further irritated the hostile cantons—which were moreover stirred up against Zurich by the bishop of Constance and his vicar, Faber, who were indignant at the loss of the emoluments which they had been accustomed to derive from that canton. Eckius also, at Faber's instigation wrote to the cantons a most inflammatory address, exhorting them to exterminate "the new, false, and blasphemous heresy," and offering to dispute before them with Zwingle and Œcolampadius. On some further proceedings of the cantons, Berne renewed its application to Zurich in favour of the restoration of the mass. Other points, they said, might be passed over, but this appeared to be indispensable; and they conjured the council to consider the danger to which they exposed a country, on which no foreign power had been able to make any impression while it remained

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nited, but whose divisions would inspire its enemies with the hope of accomplishing their wishes against it. The council replied in a determined and magnanimous manner, by a deputation to Berne, appealing to their known faithful adherence to all their engagements to their allies of the confederation, and to the repeated offers they had made either to justify what they had done, and to submit to conviction from the word of God. They urged that it was not the right of the several cantons to interfere with one another in matters of internal regulation, like that now in question; and that, if the other states had resolved to renounce their alliance because they followed their consciences, they must submit to it, and refer the matter to that God in whose name all their treaties purported to be made. To the argument that their forefathers had never observed the mass, and had prospered under the religion they professed, and that it was not to be supposed they had all perished in error, they replied, That they must leave their ancestors to the merciful judgment of God: that, as they had acted with a good intention, and in the want of better knowledge, it was to be hoped that their error had not prejudiced their salvation: but, for themselves, to whom the light of truth had shone, and who were assured that the mass was contrary to the word of God, it would be in the highest degree criminal, to restore so flagrant a profanation, after they had once abolished it. The lords of Berne were pleased with the frankness and force of this reply; and promised to use their utmost efforts to induce the six cantons to relinquish their hostility. And they kept their promise: for, when the cantons, soon

1525.

after assembled at Lucerne, had formed the resolution of compelling the people of Thurgau and others to restore the old superstition, the Bernese informed them, that it was their determination to adhere to their alliances, and that they would not desert the people of Zurich; that they would not agree to their exclusion from the general diet; and, in short, that they would give them no molestation. They also exhorted the cantons to use no violence towards Thurgau; but, if they thought the people there had violated their duty, to proceed against them in that legal way which their constitution had provided.—All this was highly honourable both to Zurich and to Berne; and shewed, on the part of the latter, a great progress towards that decided stand which it eventually made in favour of the reformation.—Indeed at the commencement of this year the council had shewn that they were no more to be moved by the censures and excommunications of the pope,¹ than they now were by the violence of any of their allies.—It may be observed also, that Haller, (the reformer of Berne,) having become more fully enlightened on the subject of the eucharist, by the controversial writings which had passed upon it between the Zwinglians and the Lutherans, (and in which he fully concurred with Zwingle and OEccolampadius,) would no more celebrate the mass after the Christmas of the present year.²

Circumstances also at this time led to the formation of an alliance between Berne and the city of Lausanne, which had afterwards important consequences.³

At the beginning of the year 1526, the

¹ Ru. i. 338-9.² Ib. 332—338, 355-6.³ Ib. 339—343.

proposal of a discussion or disputation, to be held at Baden, was renewed. The proposition came from the cantons, assembled at Lucerne. At first only five cantons concurred in it; while Lucerne objected to it altogether, but thought that, if the meeting took place at all, it should rather be at Basle, the seat of an university, and the residence of numerous learned men, than at Baden. The government of Basle, however, had no ambition of the honour of having such an assembly held in their city. Afterwards six, and ultimately twelve cantons acceded to the measure. Faber, Eckius, and Thomas Murner, a Franciscan professor of divinity at Lucerne, were zealous promoters of it; and so also certain Austrians and Suabians are said to have been, who flattered themselves with a triumphant result, and hoped that, if the reformation were overthrown in Switzerland, it could not long survive in Germany. The three persons above named were commissioned specially to solicit the bishops of Constance, Basle, Sion, and Lausanne to send their representatives and divines; and all those prelates promised to comply with the request. But in the very Acts published by the party which had proposed the meeting, and even in the invitations by which they summoned their friends to attend it, the views and principles by which they were actuated were made manifest. They disclaimed all idea of having the power, any more than the will, to make any religious changes—however they might become convinced that such changes were called for: as good and dutiful sons they were resolved, in all events, to adhere steadfastly to their holy mother, the church of Rome: but they desired to put down the doctrine of Luther.

A.
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Disput
of Bas
1526.

April.

Zwingle, as productive of unnumbered evils, and to reclaim the people, who had been led astray.—The disputation was to commence on the sixteenth of May; and Zwingle and the other divines of Zurich were invited to attend it. But the council refused them leave to go, on grounds similar to those which they had assigned on the former occasion: and Zwingle himself entertained the same views of the design formed against him as he had before done. The place, he said, was peculiarly suitable for the execution of such a design, from the numerous persons of all descriptions who resorted to the baths from which the town derived its name: and his enemies had before this time given orders for his being seized and carried off to Lucerne. Eckius, a prime mover of the present measure had said, that fire and sword were the proper weapons with which to contend against the heretics; and nothing was to be expected, nothing was even proposed which could be considered as the fair and legitimate object of a discussion: it would be “extreme folly in him, therefore, to expose himself to certain and imminent danger, without any prospect of promoting the honour and the diffusion of the word of God.” He then again pointed out the only principles on which a discussion could be conducted, so as to be likely to lead to any good result. The written word of God must be the sole rule of judgment, and every man must feel himself at liberty to speak his sentiments freely. He also renewed his offer of attending a meeting at Berne, S. Gallen, or some other place, if Zurich were not approved.¹

¹ Zwingle published his letter, from which these sentiments have been extracted. It is found Op. ii. fo. 572—575, whence Gerdes has copied it, (ii. Doc. No. 16,) as throwing

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the cantons however persisted in their plan, and the council of Zurich adhered to its resolution, assigning among other reasons, "that the cantons had already entered into a treaty with the archduke of Austria, and the other princes of the Suabian league, to crush the reformed." The cantons sent to Zurich a safe-conduct for Zwingli, and even offered hostages for his security. The former however was touched in such terms as rather served to aggravate the distrust which was felt. It was reported to protect him "so long as he conducted himself in a manner which did not violate the safe-conduct granted him:" on which he himself remarks, "As soon as I could say any thing spirited against the pope, they would charge me with having violated the terms of my protection, and contend, as they did in the case of Huss, at Constance, that no safe-conduct could protect a heretic."

Certain other events which occurred at this picture had any other tendency rather than to allay suspicion. On the tenth of May, only six days before the meeting was to take place, Faber, as official of the bishop of Constance, with two abbots, and some doctors of law, held a consistory at Mersburg, near Constance, for the examination of John Huglin, minister of Lindau; when, after having required him to renounce Lutheranism, which he refused to do, they condemned him to be degraded and delivered over to the secular authority to be burned: which cruel punishment the good man endured with Christian constancy, offering up prayers for his persecu-

Martyr-
dom of
Huglin and
Spengler.

It is on the state of things at the time, and justifying Zwingli from the charge of declining a fair hearing before the highest authority in Switzerland.

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XVII.Proceed-
ings at
Baden.

tors. Another reformed preacher also, Peter Spengler, was seized by order of the bishop of Constance, and drowned at Friburg in Brisgau.¹

The meeting at Baden was held at the time appointed, and was attended by a large number of persons, most of them devoted Romanists. Œcolampadius, Haller, Weissenburg, Burgawer, Wetter, and several other reformed ministers from Basle, Schaffhausen, S. Gallen, Appenzel, and Mulhausen, also presented themselves; ready to take a part in the debate. Erasmus was solicited to give his assistance: but, as usual, he excused himself on the plea of delicate health. It may be thought that as Œcolampadius appeared, and was exposed to no violence, Zwingle might have done the same. It is impossible, of course, to determine what the event would have been, but we must remember, that none of the reformed ministers held the place that Zwingle did: there was no one whom the enemies of the reformation so much desired to see taken off: neither had any one of the places from which they came rendered itself so obnoxious as Zurich had done. A greater risk of injury to their cause would have been incurred, and with much less hope of advantage, by seizing Œcolampadius than by capturing Zwingle. Œcolampadius is said at first to have felt dissatisfaction at the absence of his friend, but afterwards to have written to him, "I thank God that you are not here. The turn which matters have taken makes me clearly perceive, that had you been here we should *neither* of us have escaped the stake."²

¹ Ru. i. 356—363. Gerd. ii. 306, 308.

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It will not be necessary to enter into the tails of this disputation, especially as we all see it abundantly proved, that the Acts were never published but in a very corrupted state. It lasted eighteen days, during which sermons were permitted except from the Roman-catholic preachers; and processions were celebrated with great pomp and ostentation. Eckius was throughout the leading character; and, next to him, Murner. For the former a splendid chair was placed; and a very humble one for Oecolampadius, as the order on the other side. Eckius proposed to maintain seven theses, chiefly asserting the doctrines of the mass, the invocation of the saints, the use of images, and purgatory: and Murner added two to them, justifying the adoration of the host, and the withholding of the cup from the laity, and attacking the alienation of church property as injustice and robbery. It does not appear, however, that Murner's articles were ever discussed, he having only read them, and added a few words on each, in which he cast rude reproaches on the character and honour, as well as upon the doctrines of Zwingle. It was observed that no native Swiss came forward on this occasion in defence of the Romish tenets: early the whole support of them devolved on Eckius, who was even a stranger to the country. It was also made a matter of comment, that, while Eckius and those of his party indulged in whatever declamations they pleased, the speakers on the other side were silenced as soon as they uttered any thing free and spirited in reply to their adversaries, or against their doctrines. In opening speeches are the only ones we will

notice. Eckius began by complaining of the new doctors, as wishing "to rob the church of the precious treasure of the body and blood of Christ," and as charging her with idolatry and many other grievous offences: and he demanded of Œcolampadius now to assign the reasons for such charges, and "swore by the holy Virgin and all the saints that he would answer him manfully in the name of the church." Œcolampadius, in reply, wished, before he proceeded further, to obviate three injurious prejudices which prevailed against his party, namely, that they taught a new doctrine—that they condemned all their ancestors—and that they discountenanced, or even interdicted, good works. On the second of these prejudices, in addition to observations similar to those we have already heard from both Zwingli and the council of Zurich, he said, "God knows the degree of light which it has pleased him to afford to each individual: that which sufficed for the salvation of the thief, converted on the cross, would suffice for the salvation of others in like circumstances: we, whose study is theology, ought not to be so forward to judge and condemn others," whose circumstances we cannot know, "for causes of inferior importance." As he extended his introductory remarks to some length, Eckius rudely interrupted him, bidding him come to the point, boasting that he himself was there "on the part of the Duke of Bavaria," (in whose university of Ingolstadt he was professor,) to confute him: and adding other insulting expressions. Œcolampadius, resuming, answered, "When I felt it his honour to speak of his Saviour Jesus Christ to him, he said, to it

it in a perfunctory manner: he begged
opponent to abstain from offensive and
mighty language, which could have no ten-
cy to discover the truth; and added, that
hoped to be regarded as a Christian minister,
outed by the state in which he lived to
fer on the all-important subject of religion,
d not as a miserable wretch, who had the
d about his neck, ready to be burned for
easy. "I wish," said he, "to render a
son for my doctrine in the spirit of meek-
ness, and I could fain desire that my adversaries
uld do the same."

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At the close of the discussion, all the ecclesiastics present were desired to testify by their descriptions their assent to the theses of Ecolampadius, or to the sentiments of Eckius, in opposition to them. The great majority sided with the former, while the reformed subscribed the latter, except that a few admitted the doctrine of the corporal presence. The deputies of nine cantons then joined in an edict signing the victory to Eckius and his friends, and forbidding all innovations, under severe penalties. They likewise prohibited the sale of the works of Zwingle, Luther, and their followers; and the printing of any books which had not been examined and approved by commissioners to be appointed for that service. And, as Zwingle, "the author of the novel doctrine in Switzerland, had not appeared to answer for himself, they adjudged him and all who had not now retracted their errors, to be excommunicated and expelled, as Luther had been by the pope in 1520, and pope Adrian had been expelled at home.

**Decision
in favour of
the Roman
catholics.**

1. 363-
1. 97.

Bullinger in

he was not an unconcerned or idle spectator of the distant combat. He addressed to the cantons a written refutation of Eckius's theses. Having notice also given him of what passed at Baden, he assisted his friends by the constant communication of his sentiments: and he published repeated answers to both Eckius and Faber, both of whom appear to have entered more or less into the controversy with him by writing; so that probably neither his labours nor his services on this occasion were less than they would have been, had he personally appeared at Baden.¹

Their triumph not
relied on.

The Romanists affected to make much of their victory at Baden: but strong circumstances are adduced to shew that they had little real confidence in it, and were ill-disposed to submit the proofs of it to public examination. Before the debate commenced, two secretaries were chosen by each party, and likewise two assistants, in whose presence the secretaries were to compare their minutes; and these minutes thus revised were to be put into the hands of the four presidents of the meeting, to be kept as authentic memorials of what passed. At the close of the proceedings, these Acts of the conference were committed to the custody of the bailiff of Baden, till further order should be taken respecting them. The cantons of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen, &c.

¹ Zuing. Op. ii. fo. 572—605. Gerd. ii. 308, 313. The testimony of his friend Myconius is strong to this point. "The labours of Zwingli at this time in hurrying up and down, meditating, watching, consulting, advising, and letters and papers which he sent to Baden, were more than they would have been had he actually been in the midst of his enemies—especially of a blind and ignorant antagonist to contend with." De vit. Zui

A. D.
1526.

being parties concerned, and of equal authority with any others, demanded to be allowed to inspect them, but they were never permitted to see them: on which account they refused all further concern with them. The following year, when the reformed had done all in their power to urge and even compel the publication of the Acts,¹ the other nine cantons committed the care of printing them to Murner; and they were accordingly printed at Lucerne, but not till the year 1528; and then in the most negligent and slovenly manner—without any distinction of the several days of the discussion, any notation of pages, or other facilities for reference; with the omission of answers which were known to have been given; and with the addition of an offensive preface and conclusion by the editor. In short, Murner could never shake off the charge of having mutilated and corrupted the documents, to suit his own pleasure: and for this and other unwarrantable proceedings he may even be said to have afterwards suffered punishment, his own party being unable to defend or excuse him.² The practical fruits also of victory appeared to be with the reformed; for in many places (some of which have already been enumerated,) their cause evidently made progress immediately after the
 stage

an was called
 ---fessorship

Pellican's
 removal
 to Zurich.

of Hebrew, which had been vacated by the early death of Ceperinus.¹ His modesty would have led him to decline an appointment for which he was eminently qualified; but the urgency of his friends overcame his objections, and he found cause to rejoice in the change he had made. At Basle he had been exposed to much contention: at Zurich he found comparative repose; and the society of the great and good men with whom he was associated was delightful to him.² He gave vent to his feelings, by commencing his lectures on the fifteenth chapter of Exodus in words to the following effect: "I thank my God, who has delivered me out of Egypt, and from Egyptian and papal bondage, and has made me to pass the Red Sea; so that I can join his saints in responding with a glad heart to the song of Moses, as his sister Miriam originally did, *Sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously.*" He now first threw off his friar's frock, and soon after married. His settlement at Zurich added to the attractions which drew to that city many strangers, who rejoiced to find a place where they could both cultivate learning with advantage, and study and profess the gospel without molestation. The government of Zurich now also further aided the reformation, by the abolition of many of those redundant holidays, whose mischievous effects upon both business and morals have been before noticed.³

Proceedings
at Berne.
1526.

At Berne there seemed for a time reason to fear a retrograde movement. The council indeed passed some acts tending to abridge the power of the clergy and the influence

¹ Above, p. 358.

² See above p. 416, note.

³ Mel. Ad. in Pel. 141. Gerd. ii. 317—319, 334. Ru. i. 381-2.

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1526.

May 21.

of the bishop; but the more zealous Roman-catholic cantons now prevailed upon the citizens in a popular assembly, though not without the opposition of many leading members of the council and other burghers, to resolve, that they would not separate themselves from the other cantons, and would make no innovations in religion; and, in order to this, even to forbid the reading of books contrary to the ancient faith; and to enjoin the removal of all married priests from their country. And very rashly and most improperly they bound themselves by an oath to adhere to this edict. Still, however, Haller, on his return from Baden, was well received, and confirmed in his office of pastor. But the senate, or little council, called him before them, and ordered him to celebrate the mass, on pain of deprivation and banishment. This he declined to do, and claimed to be heard before the supreme council. With difficulty this indulgence was granted him: but the council was much divided, and the debate upon the question became so stormy, that the people began to collect for the protection of their pastor. At length he obtained a peaceable hearing. He expressed his deep regret that he had proved the occasion of any discords among the magistrates or the citizens, and declared himself ready to quit the canton rather than this should continue to be the case. He was still most willing to let his doctrine tried by the sacred scriptures; if it were found that he had taught anything to them, to submit to such punishment as should be adjudged to deserve it. He refused consent to celebrate mass, but said that it was a gross perversion of the sacrament, and that he would instantly quit the canton.

June 25.

required so to do—for sorry should he be to have it thought that he preferred his own interest, either to truth and the glory of God, or to the peace of the city. He spoke, we are told, in so forcible and touching a manner that even some of his enemies were wrought upon. Little however to the honour of the council, (for in proportion as men are devoted to their work, and indifferent to their own interest, do they not deserve the consideration of those in whom church patronage is vested?) Haller's tender of the resignation of his canonry was accepted: though it was ordered, that, as was customary when such appointments were vacated, he should retain the emoluments for two years. His appointment as pastor was renewed, with the promise of a competent salary, and the direction, that, "in conformity with the former edicts, he should preach whatever could be proved from the word of God:" and his celebration of the mass was dispensed with. This decision gave so much dissatisfaction to some considerable families, that they were induced to remove from Berne.

November.

Near the close of the year the magistrates ordered that Haller should preach three times in the week during advent and lent, in addition to his ordinary sermons and other duties. In his zeal for the edification of the people, he cheerfully undertook the service: and, when it was found impossible for him to continue so much labour, he was desired to seek for himself a suitable assistant. Francis Kolb, of Colbius, who had been a preacher at Berne fourteen years before, but had quitted his situation, and retired into a convent at Nuremberg, from discouragement at the disregard shewn for his zealous protests against merce-

nary warfare and other prevailing evils, was in consequence of this direction recalled, and became the coadjutor of Haller, and faithfully laboured at Berne till his death, in 1535, at the age of seventy years. The former preaching of this good man against the sins of the people among whom he was stationed, and his concern at their neglect of his admonitions, had the latter been restrained within due bounds, were highly laudable: but his quitting his post, and abandoning the endeavour to be useful, because he did not presently see the success he had hoped for, shewed him at that time to have grievously mistaken the path of duty. In his retirement, however, he had diligently applied himself to the study of the scriptures: and thus, no doubt, he became better informed, and in other respects also better qualified for future service.

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1526.

1527.
April.

In the month of April, 1527, the council of Berne, perceiving the bearings of the public mind, and convinced, we may presume, that even the oath which had been rashly taken could not bind the people for ever to retain their errors, resolved to bring before the communities of the country the two decrees, that of 1523 and that of 1526,¹ the one enjoining the free and unrestrained preaching of the word of God, and the other prohibiting all innovation; and to call upon them to make their election to which they would adhere. The decision was generally made in favour of the former: and the council, acting upon it, issued a new edict, cancelling the decree of the preceding year, restoring that of 1523, and making such additions to it as existing circum-

¹ Ru. i. 177, 386.

CHAP.
XVII.

stances seemed to require. The consequence was the rapid spread of the reformation in the canton, and before the end of the year, though no public abolition of the mass had taken place, that fundamental and idolatrous rite of the Romish church was renounced by numerous tribes in the city, and in many districts of the country.¹

Basle.

At Basle, the singing of psalms in the vernacular tongue by the congregation at large, a practice now introduced into the churches by *Æcolampadius*, in the place of the chanting of Latin canticles by the clergy alone, produced a powerful effect. The people took so much pleasure in it, that, when some opposition was made to it, the congregations themselves continued it, without waiting for the announcement of a particular Psalm by the officiating minister. *Æcolampadius* therefore addressed a memorial upon the subject to the senate, in which he shews how spiritual and edifying an exercise the singing of the praises of God is; that it is "a work in which we have angels for our leaders; an excellent refreshment to the soul; a means of exciting us to prayer, and preparing us to hear the word of God with profit: a service, therefore, in which all classes, and not merely the clergy should join, with understanding of what is sung." His memorial had the effect of silencing opposition; and the practice of the public singing of psalms and hymns was established.² The number of communicants

¹ Ru. i. 382—390, 402-3, 490—492, 496—498. Ger. ii. 312, 319—322, 327-8, 343—345.

² Erasmus has a pleasing passage on the subject in the vulgar tongue, in his epistle to Adrian. Arnobius's commentary on the book of Psalms.

also, who now received the sacrament of the Lord's supper in both kinds from the hands of Œcolampadius, greatly increased. The withholding of the Acts of the disputation of Baden gave great dissatisfaction at Basle; excited much distrust and suspicion against the Roman catholics; and induced the magistrates to allow more freely the printing of the works of the reformers in their city. In other places likewise the reformation made a steady progress.¹

A. D.
1526.

On the other hand, the zealous Roman-catholic cantons did not fail to exert themselves, and even to devise means for the extirpation of the reformed. The league, which formed the basis of the Helvetic union, contained an article providing that their confederation should be from time to time renewed.

Measures
of the
cantons.

applauds that work, though it was purposely written in a homely style. "Does any one ask," he says, "why Arnobius, who was an eloquent man, wrote these commentaries in plebeian language? In the first place, nothing was anciently more popular than the Psalms of David. From them the ploughman hummed verses after his plough, and the pilot at his helm, and the waterman at his oar, and the husbandman at his spade, and the weaver at his loom, and the housewife at her distaff. Nay, hence even children sang to their nurses before they could speak plainly. So great was the esteem formerly shewn for this divine music, which most even of the priests now despise! Arnobius therefore wished, that, what all delighted to sing, all should understand. He chose rather to prattle for the benefit of the many, than to display his eloquence to gain the applause of a few." *Brasm. Epist. fol. col. 1649-50.* On the other hand, the same writer speaks of the music of the Roman-catholic churches as "more fit for the ears of the performers than for the worship of God;" complains that the words were rendered unintelligible by the performers; nay, that often "while the words of the planted divine hymns;" while the words of the hymns were being sung, shouting was heard in the churches.

¹ Ru. i. 392—394. *Geogr. i. 10.*

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XVII.

July.

Such a renewal the seven cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwetz, Underwalden, Zug, Friburg, and Solcure resolved should now take place; but they determined that the cantons of Zurich and Basle, and the towns of S. Gallen and Mulhausen, should have no part in the renewal of the alliance with them. Berne, Glaris, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel had not yet gone far enough to subject themselves to such an exclusion. With these four therefore the seven cantons renewed their relations; while the four did the same with the rejected states. Thus was the Swiss league, on the ground of religious differences, divided into two parts; though there remained, in the cantons common to the two, some connecting links to prevent the entire dissolution of their union.¹ Such a state of things tended directly to civil war; a fatal consummation, which, though it was warded off for some time longer, it is to be feared, neither party took due care to avert. The pope and the heads of the Romish church were glad to fan the flames of discord: but here, as in Germany, they were prevented from doing all they would have wished, by the occupation found in other quarters for the powers, on which they would principally have relied for support. Ferdinand had full employment in Hungary, and the pope and the king of France were at war with the emperor. The popish cantons endeavoured to draw the Vallois to join them against Zurich—an object in which they afterwards succeeded. These poor people were extremely ignorant: so much so, it is

¹ Probably also the failure of renewal did not amount to a dissolution of the union; for so it was provided in the original act of their association. *Planta's Helv. Confed.* i. 237.

said, as scarcely to know what was meant by the holy scriptures: but, led by some better informed persons, they at this time returned a very sensible answer to the application: "This," said they, "is a dispute about religion: and, as the people of Zurich profess themselves ready to be convinced from the scriptures, (which both parties acknowledge,) let it be left to be settled between the priests and the reformed ministers."¹

A. D.
1527.

Early in the year 1527, the four friendly cantons sent a deputation to Zurich, to deliberate with the council on the means of restoring the connexion of that canton with the seven which had rejected its alliance. The council put into their hands fourteen articles of complaint, which they had against the hostile cantons; one of which was, their having prohibited the reading of the scriptures, and of books founded on the scriptures, in Thurgau and other dependencies over which Zurich exercised jurisdiction in common with the opposing cantons. On this subject they pleaded on the true grounds of religious liberty. "Though every one," said they, "is subject to the supreme magistrate with respect to temporal goods, and external things, yet this extends not to matters affecting the soul and conscience. Here our subjection is only to God; and his laws alone can be acknowledged. On these subjects we can never submit to constraint, and to human judgment."² They concluded with repeating, that they could never change their religion, till they were con-

Firmness
of Zurich,

¹ Ru. i. 397—401.

² I shall never cease to call upon the fit occasions to present them to your fear (whatever some may surmise) principles of the church of whom I am

CHAP.
XVII.and of
Berne.
March 7.

the word of God that it was wrong ; and remarking, that “ the treaties which bound the cantons together related not to religion, but to temporal safety, honour, and interest.”—The seven cantons, on the other hand, being assembled at Lucerne, and feeling ill-satisfied with some late communications from Berne, particularly on the subject of the Acts of the disputation of Baden,¹ wrote to that state, calling upon it not to separate from its allies in the matter of religion, but to summon its communities to meet, and deliberate upon the question in a general assembly. Most presumptuously and offensively they added, that, in case the council refused to do this, they themselves would take upon them to inform the subjects of Berne of the design which their governors entertained to innovate in religion, and of the complaints which the other cantons had against them on that ground. To this insulting message the council replied, that they were determined to adhere to the sentiments they had lately expressed ; (one of which was, that, if they found it expedient to introduce any changes within their own state, they should not feel it necessary to ask the advice of the seven cantons ;) and that they did not deem it needful to convoke their people ; much less would they suffer deputies from the other cantons, to intrude among them. It was only a few weeks after this correspondence, that the important change of measures, which has been related above, took place at Berne.² The council at the same time sent a deputation to Friburg and Soleure, (with which they had special alliances,) to express their hope, that ~~the~~

¹ Ru. i. 459—461.² Above p. 56

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1527.

cantons would not hastily concur in a conspiracy against them, but would observe the treaties existing between them; and also to entreat them not to persist in excluding Zurich from the confederation. Their answer was favourable, at least as respected Berne: and we shall find that, in speaking of the zealous Roman-catholic cantons, we have in the sequel to treat rather of "the five" than of "the seven." Friburg and Soleure took no part in the war in which these disputes terminated: indeed, as belonging to the number of the "new" and "neutral" cantons, they were bound not to do it.¹

A general diet of the cantons was soon after held at Berne, at which the means of reuniting the whole confederation were considered; but the grounds of division were found too important, and the spirits of men too much embittered, to allow of a successful issue to their deliberations. While some also were studying to promote union, others seemed bent only upon widening the breach and inflaming resentment. Among the latter, Murner distinguished himself by a furious book directed against Zurich and Berne. Zwingli in reply addressed the cantons, demanding justice to be done him with respect to the calumnies of Murner, whom he offered to meet before the diet; complaining that the Acts of Baden were withheld from the four cantons which demanded them, and that they were now committed to the hands of such a man as Murner. He also refused to dispute with Faber, Eckins. Any independent and fair plan produced no effect.²

¹ Above, p. 327.

CHAP.
XVII.Proceed-
ings of the
Austrian
Regency.

Nor was it only within the limits of Switzerland, and from their immediate neighbours, that the reformed now encountered enemies, and suffered disturbance. The regency of Austria¹ seized all such revenues of hospitals, religious houses, and other institutions, belonging to Zurich and Berne, as arose within the territories subject to the Austrian jurisdiction. The two cantons, being unable to obtain any redress, were driven to adopt measures of reprisal.

Mulhausen
harassed.

Towards Mulhausen, which, it will be remembered, though a member of the confederation, lay without the limits of Switzerland, the same power acted with still greater harshness. The regency accused this little state to the cantons, of having countenanced the rebellious subjects to the house of Austria in Alsace; and, not content with that, and as if to shew the real ground of quarrel with it, they confiscated the goods of the ministers of the town; and even seizing the persons of two of them carried them off to Einsisheim, and there beheaded them. They seized a third in his church; but the citizens pursuing the captors rescued him. This the regency made a fresh ground of charge, and of long-continued proceedings against the town. The inhabitants in vain implored the succour of their allies: but at length the cantons, being assembled at Lucerne, sent deputies to Mulhausen to inquire into the state of religion there, promising protection to the place in case things were put upon their ancient footing in that respect, but declaring that unless this were done they would abandon it to its fate. The council nobly

Martyr-
doms.

¹ Probably the Council of R
absence of the emperor.

REFORMATION, TO A. D. 1527.

they had directed their ministers to preach to them the unadulterated word of God, and in compliance with that word had abolished some intolerable abuses; that, if any would now charge their teachers with having delivered to them unscriptural doctrine, they would put them upon their defence; but that, great as was their desire to meet the wishes of their allies, they could not in compliance with them go contrary to their consciences." They sent deputations to solicit the good offices of Berne and Soleure: both which towns zealously pleaded their cause in the diets, but without effect. They were still persecuted by the Austrians and neglected by the cantons. All this however did not overcome their resolution, or prevent their going on to perfect their reformation, in the year following, by the removal of images and pictures, the objects of superstitious veneration, from their churches.¹

Cappel has not been before particularly noticed in our history. This place, situate midway between the towns of Zurich and Zug, was the seat of a monastery, of which Wolfgang Lonser was the present abbot. We have seen that he was a supporter of the reformation, and the friend of Zwingli; by whose means he had been led to the knowledge of divine truth. As far back as the year 1523, he had appointed the celebrated Bullinger reader in theology in his monastery; and that great man continued during six years to labour there indefatigably, to enlighten and improve the inhabitants and those who resorted thither; preaching in the abbey church, and in various neighbouring places, as well as lecturing in the monastery.

In the year 1526, the mass was superseded by the eucharist administered with primitive simplicity. The year following the whole society, with the abbot at their head, "considering that monasteries were designed to be places of instruction for training youth in religion and good learning," and that they had now ceased to answer such a purpose, surrendered their establishment into the hands of the lords of Zurich: by whom, in concert with the abbot, it was converted into a college, from which many learned and excellent men have proceeded; and the property of the convent was strictly appropriated, and faithfully applied, to the three objects of supporting scholars, relieving the poor, and improving the salaries of the ministers of the gospel.—The church was made a parochial one, and three neighbouring villages were attached to it as such.¹

Proceed-
ings at
Basle.

At Basle some further changes now occurred. The bishop, Christopher d'Uttenheim, worn down with age, and harassed with the difficulties of the times, resigned his bishopric in February, 1527, and died a month after. His coadjutor, Nicholas de Diesbach, so far from aspiring to succeed him, as he might have expected to do, resigned his office also. Philip de Gundelsheim, a native of France, was appointed to the bishopric: but he never set foot in Basle; apparently because the affairs of the church succeeded so little according to his wishes. The Roman-catholic preachers, however, among whom Augustine Marius, pastor of the cathedral, and titular bishop of Salona, was distinguished, used their efforts to support their tottering

¹ Ru. i. 329, 470—474. *Cont.*

A. D.
1527.

contentions hence arose which were unfavourable alike to religious edification and to the peace of the city, Œcolampadius proposed to Marius a public discussion, either *vivâ voce* or by writing, in which their differences might be fairly examined. Marius was so much offended by the proposal, that he complained of it to the magistrates as a proceeding which called for their animadversion. The magistrates, however, as the mass was a main point in dispute, and that on which they themselves felt most difficulty, ordered each party to present to them, by writing their reasons, the one for believing that the mass was a most sacred divine ordinance, a sacrifice expiatory of the sins of the living and the dead; the other for regarding it as an abomination in the sight of God—a sacrilegious insult to “the one offering of Jesus Christ.” The reformed readily complied with the demand; and presented a writing signed by Œcolampadius and Jerome Bothan, his curate, Mark Bersi, pastor of S. Leonard’s church, and Balthasar Foegheli, his curate, Wolfgang Weissenburg, minister of the Hospital, Thomas Gheirfalk, minister of the church of the Augustins, and John Luthard, of that of the Franciscans. Marius also presented his reasons in writing, but accompanied by a protest, that this was not to be taken in prejudice of the rights and authority of the bishop and chapter, his lawful superiors, who disapproved of submitting such subjects to the consideration of the civil magistrate. Much discussion followed: but it ended for the present in the magistrates authorizing each party to act with respect to the mass as their consciences dictated, but requiring them to restrain their mutual attacks upon each other, so that they

November.

CHAP.
XVII.Letter of
Capito to
Basle.

might not break the peace of the town. The number of holidays, however, was now much abridged by the authority of the magistrates: and both the Augustin and Franciscan monks surrendered their convents, and quitted the habits of their respective orders.¹

At a time when our history is painfully barren of spiritual and edifying matter, and the proceedings of diets and magistrates occupy too large a share of our attention, it may be some relief to the Christian reader to peruse a letter which Capito wrote from Strasburg "to his brethren at Basle," in the midst of the present unsettled and even disturbed state of their affairs. It is dated September, 1527, and is as follows: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, brethren beloved in the Lord! Our brother who brings you this letter has begged me to write to you, to express our good wishes, and to suggest any suitable reflections that may present themselves. I have undertaken the service, and proceed to perform it as time will permit, and the Lord shall enable me.—In the first place, we cannot but judge you very happy, in that, after having tasted the good word of God, you are now undergoing purification from the corruptions of the flesh by means of affliction. For from (these) private lessons² you derive a subdued spirit, of which they remain destitute, who, while they riot in the unrestrained use of the word, live in sloth and injurious ease. For it is more easy to keep fish alive without water, than to preserve spirituality of mind amid the smiles of the world. *He* gives us assurance of this who declares, that unless we take up

¹ Ru. i. 474—479. Gerd. ii. 345—348. Œc. et Z. Epist. fo. 203.
² "Privatis sermonibus."

our cross daily, and follow him we cannot be his disciples. The disciple is not to enjoy a better condition than his master. They persecuted him, and we must expect that they will persecute us. So the matter stands: we hate the world, and the world hates us. But this is in different senses: they, from hatred of the glory of God, seek to destroy us; while we, impelled by zeal for the divine honour, hate nothing in them but what spalls them for the Creator's service, and tends to their own destruction. We earnestly desire, if it may accord with the will of God, to restrain them from the pleasures of sin, which are but for a season, to the enjoyment of eternal felicity. Are you then branded with public ignominy? This does but lead to that everlasting glory which is reserved for Christ's elect. Are you deprived of your goods and possessions? You shall receive a hundred fold more, and in the world to come eternal life. Are you banished your country, and put to a shameful death? In heaven you have an everlasting city, and shall enjoy a blessed immortality. They therefore, who with Christ gain the victory over their enemies by dying to him, their lives triumph in a world which is the funeral can well have estimated their bodies in the world. For as in the body of the departed saint, but whose body is buried resting in the dust, so in the world being afflicted with no more of the beauty of the immortal condition of the soul, so magnificence to please and please of the world is turned into a world's contempt and scorn, though it should be the most beautiful and the most illustrious of the world, so in the world is the weak and feeble of the world.

1. 11
12.

examples. In proportion, therefore, to the testimony given to the power and grace of the exalted Saviour, the brand of infamy may be esteemed the badge of honour, to those who avow the faith, and suffer for it. The number, indeed, of those who sacrifice their lives among you is smaller, because such is the will of God, that the tender plants being only, as it were, watered by the gentle rains may grow up into strong trees. Nor do I doubt that you will find these gifts of God bestowed upon you more richly than I, with my small measure of the Spirit, can set forth: for, when the persecutor rages, and surrounding circumstances are alarming, we fly to God more promptly and effectually than he can do, with his utmost efforts, who is at ease, and surrounded with worldly comforts. I realize to myself, that, as you constantly occupy the field of battle, you daily find in your hearts a lively experience of the love of God; since the most assured sense of God's presence is produced when his fatherly providence rescues us from snares, and delivers us from dangers, and the strength of his grace banishes human timidity and weakness. But especially is this effect [this assured sense of the divine presence with us] produced, when, as afflictions abound, consolations superabound; which you will find still more and more to be the case as you advance beyond the first elementary steps of religion—as indeed I must judge that you have already done, from your discerning, with such happy unanimity, the glory of Christ in the sacrament of the eucharist. In the mean time be watchful, and earnest in prayers to God that he would suffer you to embrace nothing contrary to his glory and the analogy of the faith. Such a

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course is highly necessary: for the simplicity of pious minds is assailed by various writings from all sides: so that there is need for the utmost caution in *trying the spirits, whether they be of God*. In this important work you may receive excellent assistance from a small publication by Martin Borrhaus, intitled, 'Concerning the works of God,' which I beg you to study diligently and devoutly, and to receive so much of it as you shall find the Spirit setting his seal to within your hearts: for we must take care not to profess outwardly before men what we have not an inward conviction of in our hearts—since *whatsoever is not of faith is sin*. Our brother Guithelmus, the bearer of this letter, will inform you of the state and progress of our church. 'The servants of God here commend him to you affectionately. The Lord preserve you! Amen.'¹

This assuredly is a letter worthy of the primitive and best times of the church. Such documents as these discover to us the true spirit of the reformers, and must fill the Christian heart with veneration and love for their memory. The epistle before us breathes all that deadness to the world, that reconciliation to its wrongs, and sense of the danger of its smiles, that confidence in God, and rejoicing in tribulation undergone for Christ's sake, that fervent love of the brethren, and genuine benevolence for all men, even enemies and persecutors, which marked the apostles of Christ, and their associates and immediate successors.—It is full also of lessons for our own times. It describes that very languor, and apathy, and worldliness of spirit, into which our external piety intrudes

Remarks

¹ We are indebted for this letter to Scattered Volumes. Thence it is copied to Camden vol. ii. (1627. Vol. 20)

us. Nor was the caution at the close, concerning “proving all things, and holding fast that,” and that only, “which is good,” ever more necessary than it is for us; for now also “the simplicity of the pious is assailed by various writings from all sides,” of which not even all that proceed from good men can be safely received; and the diversity of which exposes many to the danger of retaining nothing steadily and firmly. Great need therefore have we “to watch, and to pray that God would not suffer us to embrace any thing contrary to his glory, and the analogy of the faith”—the standing doctrine of his true church, drawn from the scriptures, and handed down through all generations.

One point in the epistle must excite in us some surprize—namely, its strong representation of the persecutions to which the church was then exposed. We have seen some instances in Switzerland, and others occurred in Germany; and we may well suppose the state in which the reformed lived to be sufficiently harassing: but we should not, perhaps, have fully expected the views exhibited by Capito's letter. He must have better known, however, what was passing around him, than we can know it from the imperfect records of history, apart from such private and confidential communications as that now before us.

We intimated that at Schaffhausen the reformation received a check by the expulsion of Hoffmeister and Hoffman. Both the magistrates and the clergy seem to have been intimidated. The former appear not to have been averse to establish the reformation: but the consideration of the superior numbers and power of its opponents, both within Switzerland

and beyond its boundaries, overawed them. The conflict therefore between their convictions, perhaps their inclinations, and their fears rendered their conduct vacillating. They first confirmed the old form of worship: soon after they resolved to leave every one at liberty to attend mass or the contrary, as he pleased. 1527. Then they ordered the clergy to celebrate mass or forfeit their benefices: on which even those who had with warmth preached against that superstitious and idolatrous rite complied, and contented themselves with retaining their sentiments without avowing them. It is instructive, though painful, to contemplate such facts. The course thus adopted is too natural to us; but let it be deeply imprinted upon our minds, before the time of trial may come, that such a temporizing policy is never the line of duty, of honour, of happiness, or of safety. Those who are involved in the trial, or, in other words, are exposed to the temptation, may contrive to reconcile their consciences to it; but such a course is never approved when looked back upon, either by the persons themselves, or by any more impartial spectators, who judge by the word of God. "To follow the Lord fully," and leave all consequences with him, is the only right path.—Alas! how much was the spirit of faith, which pervades the letter of Capito, now wanting at Schaffhausen! The leading men, the men of decision, were driven away, and pusillanimity in consequence prevailed. Even Erasmus Ritter now persuaded himself that Hoffmeister had hurt the cause by excessive zeal: (alas! where one man hurts the cause of God in that way, a hundred will generally be found to hurt both it and themselves by lukewarmness and timidity!)

and hence he himself proceeded with great caution. He appears, however, to have been upright on the whole; and the confidence which he expressed in the steadfastness of his flock, and in the final triumph of the truth at Schaffhausen, was, through God's mercy, not disappointed. But the Romanists were for the time emboldened, and failed not to advance wherever their opponents receded. Those who on the approach of death had recourse to the ceremonies of the church were buried with honour, while to others religious rites were refused at their interment: and by external circumstances of this kind the popular mind is frequently more influenced than by the most weighty considerations.¹

Glaris.
1527.

The state of things in Glaris, at this period, seems to have resembled that at Schaffhausen: though there also it subsequently became more favourable.²

S. Gallen.
1526.

At S. Gallen the reformation decidedly gained ground. It was in the year 1526 that Vadian was elected first magistrate; and under his zealous and able direction the citizens followed closely in the steps of Zurich. A conference was held in the town with some divines of the neighbourhood; after which all images and pictures were removed from the parish church; and a consistory was established for deciding matrimonial causes, and administering ecclesiastical discipline. Superfluous festivals were abolished. Wetter would no more celebrate the mass. Burgawer and some others retained it a few months longer, and then successively discontinued it. The pastors of the town, with those of Appenzel, and some from the lands

¹ Ru. i. 394-5, 479-80. Gerd. ii. 324, 349.

² Ru. i. 323, 480-1. Gerd. ii. 296, 350, 367.

CHAP.
XVII.The Ana-
baptists.

had jurisdiction over the Tockenbourg, expostulated strongly against such proceedings, and even appeared personally in the council to oppose them: but his efforts were unavailing.

The anabaptists still continued to trouble Switzerland, and ran into incredible extravagancies and enormities, amounting in one instance at least to the deliberate commission of murder. A young man, in the presence of his father and a numerous family, demanded to take off the head of his brother, under the pretence of imitating Abraham's sacrifice of his son, and the brother actually submitted to the execution, with the exclamation, "Father, thy will be done!"¹ At this period also it was, that the severe laws against these infatuated people began to be carried into effect in the reformed cantons. But into so painful and revolting a history I am little disposed to inquire, or to add to the statements of my learned predecessor.²

¹ Œc. et Z. Epist. fo. 91. Ru. i. 418—421, 453—458. Gerd. ii. 325, 335-6.---See also Scultet. 77---79. Zuing. Op. ii. 7---39, or Epist. 81--113.

² Milner, v. 496, 504---514. (1095, 1104---1114.) Mantz was drowned by the sentence of the magistrates of Zurich, in January, 1527. It should be observed, that one learned historian of recent date denies, that Zwingle was ever so far wrought upon by the vexatious and even outrageous conduct of the anabaptists, as to countenance capital punishment for simple rebaptization—a crime of which Dr. Milner finds him guilty. Weisman, Introd. in Hist. Sacr. i. p. 1585. Hess roundly denies the reformer's ever having proved "unfaithful to his principles of tolerance." pp. 235, [240. But his is not a work of sufficient research to be relied on in such a question. Gerdes in treating of these subjects quotes a sentence of the emperor Maximilian's, which, as coming from such a quarter, deserves to be transcribed. He is reported to have said: "all other things are subject to human laws; religion alone cannot be the subject either of compulsion or of (human) command." Ger. ii. 336.

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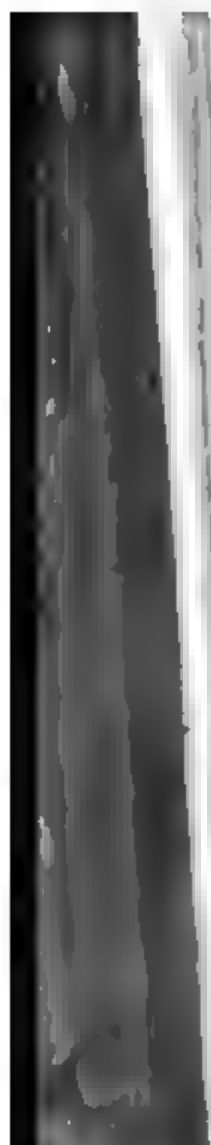
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